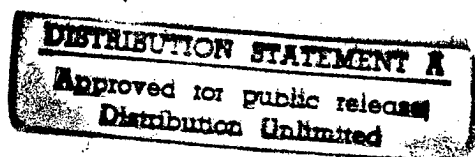


21 March 1984



## NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

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GOVERNMENT, PUBLIC ATTITUDE TOWARD RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL EXAMINED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 208, 4-10 Feb 84 pp 93-95

[Article by Dr 'Ali Hilal: "Egyptian Public Opinion Addresses the Question of 'the Cold Peace' between Egypt and Israel"]

[Text] The U.S. Congress is urging that Egypt's ambassador be returned to Tel Aviv.

Israel has been trying for some time to exercise its influence with the U.S. administration to get it to apply pressure on Cairo to return the Egyptian ambassador to Tel Aviv. When President Mubarak was visiting the United States, 52 members of the U.S. Senate sent him a letter asking him to send the Egyptian ambassador back to Tel Aviv. Fifty members of Congress also visited the Egyptian president and raised the same question with him. The return of the Egyptian ambassador to Tel Aviv may not be important in itself, but it is an indication of the fact that Egyptian-Israeli relations are progressing according to the plan mapped out for them in the Camp David Accords. The question has been raised on numerous official and popular levels. In this report AL-MAJALLAH asks Egyptians what they think about relations between Cairo and Tel Aviv, and it reviews opinions and statements made by officials.

What is the most important event that took place in Egypt in 1983?

AL-AHRAM posed that question to 500 Egyptians who were chosen to represent a variety of political, social and professional backgrounds in society: 100 workers, 100 farmers, 150 students, 50 intellectuals, 50 merchants, 50 persons from the Socialist Labor Party and 50 persons from the Democratic National Party.

The results of the survey, which were published last December 30, were as follows: 82 percent of the respondents said that the most prominent event was that which defined Egypt's position regarding not returning its ambassador to Tel Aviv.

If the result of the survey makes it clear that the matter is important to Egyptian public opinion, its importance to officials in Cairo and Tel Aviv is not any less. Israel's prime minister Shamir stated that public opinion in Egypt wanted relations with Israel improved and the Egyptian ambassador returned to Tel Aviv but that President Mubarak was refusing. Mubarak issued a reply to that statement on the pages of AL-AHRAM in which he said that his understanding of

Egyptian public opinion was better than Shamir's, and he made an indirect threat about the possibility of conducting a popular referendum on the matter.

News agencies published that threat which stirred up broad interest in western capitals. At a press conference called by the official spokesman for the U.S. State Department, Larry Speakes, [sic] Mr Speakes was asked by a correspondent what was meant by the statement in AL-AHRAM. Mr Speakes replied that Egyptian official sources mentioned that the statement was intended to mean that the points of view of public opinion in Egypt would be clarified. The statement did not mean that a referendum in the constitutional sense would be conducted.

In another limited survey conducted by editors of AL-MAJALLAH with seven attorneys, six civil servants, five journalists and two physicians, it turned out that almost half of them had no knowledge of Shamir's statement. This may be due to the fact that the Egyptian media did not give it prominence. Those who knew about Shamir's statement said that it "attached little importance to the Egyptian people." They said that the statement illustrated nothing but the fact that the person who made that statement knew nothing about the nature of the Egyptian people. They also said that "Making light of the situation was rationally unacceptable" or they said, "This is not true because the people tend to be more extreme than the president." They said, "This is a provocative statement because recalling the ambassador was the least that could be done. The Egyptian people wanted to do much more than that." They said, "Shamir's statement is intervention in Egypt's domestic affairs, and that is something the Egyptian people reject."

Everybody set conditions for the return of the Egyptian ambassador. Most of these conditions had to do with the need to have Israel respect "the peace treaty." Respondents repeated the following conditions:

--Israeli troops were to be withdrawn from Lebanon.

--The question of Egypt's borders was to be settled and Taba was to be returned to Egyptian sovereignty.

--Negotiations were to be started to solve the Palestinian question on the basis of the Palestinian people having the right to determine their own destiny and on the basis of recognizing the PLO. Two respondents affirmed that Jerusalem was an Arab city. One called for going back to the partitioning decision that was issued by the UN General Assembly in November 1947. Another mentioned that the return of the ambassador depended upon an agreement with Arab countries.

The subject of the Egyptian ambassador's return is becoming more important in light of the explosive situation in Lebanon and Israel's settlement policy in the occupied land. It is also becoming more important in light of Egypt's improved relations with Arab countries and 'Arafat's visit to Cairo at the end of 1983, with all the prospects and possibilities created by that visit.

The report that Israeli newspapers referred to may also be construed in that context. This report was prepared by (Sassoon), Israel's ambassador in Cairo. Among other things, the report stated that relations with Egypt had reached a crossroads. But the fact of the matter is that the question of the Egyptian ambassador's return [to Tel Aviv] is part of a larger issue; it is only the tip of the

iceberg. It is a symbol and an indication of the fact that Egyptian-Israeli relations have cooled in the past 2 years.

### The Cold Peace

Manifestations of the cool and cold relations between Egypt and Israel are numerous. The most notable of these was recalling the Egyptian ambassador for "deliberations" in December 1982 A.D. The Egyptian ambassador has not gone back to Tel Aviv since then. Egypt announced it was suspending the autonomy talks because Israel was not serious about reaching a result that would be acceptable to Egypt. Egypt rejected all attempts and pressures that were applied to change this situation.

Actually, it may be said that all aspects of relations between Egypt and Israel have come to a standstill, except for the sale of Egyptian oil to Israel. Sale of this oil is regulated by the agreement between the two countries according to which Egypt is providing Israel with 2 million tons of oil or 20 percent of Israel's needs. In the context of these relations Yitzhak Modai, Israel's minister of energy visited Egypt for 3 days last August. During that visit Mr Modai met President Mubarak and Minister of Foreign Affairs Kamal Hasan 'Ali. In the same context a delegation headed by [the chief of] the Department of Fuel in Israel's Ministry of Energy visited Cairo in November 1983 to present a bid to purchase oil in 1984.

Except for oil, relations have come to a standstill. Israel is complaining of numerous Egyptian practices such as inspection of Israeli fishing and recreational vessels when these sail near the island of Murjan, south of Ilat. Egypt inspects these vessels on the grounds that they entered Egypt's territorial waters. In September one of the passengers on these vessels was arrested.

Israel is also complaining of the fact that Egypt is refusing to allow Egyptians to travel in Israel and is placing restrictions on such travel. In September Israel's minister of tourism expressed his anger at the fact that the Egyptian government was not allowing Egyptian tourists to visit Israel. He said that keeping Egyptians from traveling to Israel constituted a violation of the agreement on travel cooperation between the two countries. For some time it was said in Israel that Israel would shut down its travel office in Cairo. UKTUBAR Magazine published that news report, but Israel denied it. It seems that the matter was under investigation and that (Eliyahu Ben-Elazar), Israel's first ambassador to Cairo and the chairman of the Foreign Relations and Security Committee in the Knesset was opposed to that idea.

Israel is also complaining of the fact that the Egyptian government is placing restrictions on trade between the two countries. It is also complaining of the fact that Israelis are not invited to different activities and conferences to which other countries are invited. That includes international conferences such as the International Conference for Information which was held early in 1983 and was coordinated by the Egyptian Society for Information and the International Society for Information. An Israeli delegation was invited to that conference, but upon its arrival in Cairo, the delegation discovered that the Egyptian Society for Information had decided against Israel's participation in the conference and had sent notice to its members to inform them of its decision.

Israel is also raising the matter of not being invited to participate in the annual book fair in which it participated in 1982. In 1983, however, an invitation was extended to the Institute for Palestinian Studies, but a similar invitation was not extended to Israeli publishing firms.

Israel is complaining of the news blackout that Egyptian media are imposing on any official communications with Israel. The press, for example, made no mention of the fact that President Mubarak received (Gura Weizman) when the latter was on a private visit to Egypt in August. And when President Mubarak met Yitzhak Modai, the minister of energy that same month, news of that meeting appeared in newspapers under the headline, "The President Meets with the Minister of Oil." The news report mentioned that Egypt's minister of oil was accompanied by Israel's minister of energy, and no mention was made of his name. Along the same lines the Egyptian press also made no mention of the meeting that took place between the Israeli delegation that was attending the Conference on Law for Peace. That conference included the former president of the Supreme Court, the legal adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the general manager of the Ministry of Justice and the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Butrus Ghali. There was a discussion with the minister at the conference about the normalization of relations and the return of the Egyptian ambassador.

#### Israeli Reactions

Israeli attitudes toward the matter varied from showing lack of concern to giving the impression that improvement was imminent. There was also a direct attack on Egyptian policy.

Lack of concern was manifested by (Eliyahu Ben-Elazar) who said last March, "The resumption of the dialogue with Egypt is important, but Israel should not attach too much importance to this matter." That opinion is based on the fact that Egypt's relationship with the United States is putting limits on its wish to move away from Israel. That wish to move away from Israel stems from the improvement of Egypt's relations with the Arab world. Israel has to anticipate and to wait until the matter runs its course.

On the other hand, attempts are being made to give the impression that relations are improving and that Egypt, according to them, "is eager to resume negotiations." After his visit to Cairo Yitzhak Modai said, "There are signs that relations are improving and that Egypt wants to return its ambassador to Israel when it finds an appropriate way for doing so." The Israeli press is also full of intimations and attempts to poison Egyptian-Arab relations. For example, the Israeli press interpreted the joint U.S.-Egyptian exercises which were conducted in August 1983 and which had been scheduled 1 year earlier as a reaction to Libya's intervention in Chad. Israel's press also stated that Egypt could not remain silent about what was happening on its western borders.

The third attitude, which is represented by Shamir and Foreign minister Arens--neither of these two men had approved of the Camp David Accords and Shamir had voted against the accords in the Knesset--attacks Egypt and calls for the application of pressure to get Egypt to change its position. This attitude stems from the statement that the presence of an ambassador is a principal component of peaceful relations between the two countries and that it has nothing to do with

any other subject or with a dispute about any other question. Shamir describes the situation by saying that Egypt is setting up "a cold peace" with Israel. He says Egypt violated the Camp David Accords and Israel is disappointed because Egypt is not honoring the agreements it signed.

Moshe Arens also accused Egypt of deliberately and blatantly violating the peace treaty. At the inauguration of a new military airport in Negev in October he said, "If Israel had known that Egypt would behave in this manner, it would not have given the 'concessions' it gave so easily to achieve peace and sign the treaty."

Yuval Ne'eman, minister of science and development says that Egypt is looking for reasons to intensify its hostility toward Israel.

#### The American Role

Israel is using its influence with the U.S. administration and the U.S. Congress "to persuade" Egypt to change its position. All American delegations that come to Cairo raise this question in one way or another.

Two congressional delegations visited Egypt in August. The first delegation was headed by Ronald Colman, a democrat from Texas; and the other delegation was headed by Hank Brown, a republican from Colorado. Both of them discussed the subject of deteriorating relations between Egypt and Israel. Colman said openly that he supported Israel's suggestion of a partial withdrawal to al-Awali River. He said he did not think that a total withdrawal, which Egypt was proposing, would essentially solve the problem. It is worth noting that the visits of the two delegations to Egypt and Israel were financed by the Jewish B'nai Brith Organization.

Then came the letter that was sent by 52 members of the U.S. Senate to President Mubarak when he was visiting the United States last October. The senators called upon Egypt to return its ambassador to Tel Aviv and to remove obstacles to trade, travel and cultural exchange between the two countries. They indicated that Egypt was conducting a cold war against Israel and that that was threatening the common understanding between the two countries.

In the same month 50 members of Congress met with Egypt's prime minister, Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din, and they raised the question with him.

In December another delegation that was visiting Egypt presented a memorandum calling for the return of the ambassador. On the last day of 1983 a U.S. delegation met with President Mubarak and raised with him the question of relations with Israel. The chairman of the delegation made that statement to Egyptian television in summarizing what transpired in the talks with President Mubarak.

American condemnation played its part too. According to the Israeli press, U.S. Vice President George Bush promised Meir Rosen, Israel's ambassador in Washington, that the United States would intensify its efforts to persuade Egypt to return its ambassador to Tel Aviv. That subject was raised with President Mubarak by a delegation of Jewish organizations which met with the president when he was in the United States. Israeli newspapers indicated that Shamir had asked the United States to apply pressure on Egypt. In his address to Jewish

organizations when he was visiting the United States in December, Shamir said that he was dismayed because relations with Egypt had come to a standstill. He said that Israel and the United States had agreed that freezing relations was unjustifiable and unacceptable and that Egypt's policy could force sectors of Israel's public opinion to doubt the value of the peace treaties. On 3 December 1983 Israeli radio broadcast a news report which stated that Israel had asked the United States to consider the matter of economic sanctions against Egypt to force it to return its ambassador. The news report stated that Shamir had made that request in his meeting with some members of Congress. The State Department quickly denied that report and explained that Shamir had asked Washington to exercise its influence in its capacity as signatory to the peace treaties. It seems that Egypt has agreed to an interim solution to begin high-level channels of communication between the two countries. It was in that context that David Kimhi, the general manager of Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, visited Egypt in November. However, no understanding was reached on basic matters during that visit. In December al-Shafi'i 'Abd-al-Hamid, Egypt's assistant minister of foreign affairs and Ambassador Nabil al-'Arabi went to Israel for 1 day to return the visit. In the time between the two visits Egypt received 'Arafat, and Egyptian officials talked about the right of the Palestinian people to determine their own destiny and to establish their independent state. Egyptian diplomats were harrassed in Israel, and their homes and cars were vandalized.

#### What Is Egypt Saying?

Egypt's position may be summarized in [the view] that Israeli policies constitute a blatant violation of the Camp David Accords and that its practices are creating an unfavorable climate for any progress in the peace process. Egyptian officials set forth a number of questions in this regard:

--Israeli troops must be withdrawn from Lebanon according to a timetable and without waiting for a Syrian or a Palestinian withdrawal. Egypt opposes a partial withdrawal of Israel's troops if such a withdrawal is not a step toward and a part of a bigger plan. Egypt has shown its fears of Israel's intentions in Lebanon, and it criticized the fortifications Israel set up in the area of al-Awali River. Egypt described Israel's efforts there as setting up a defense line like the Maginot Line. Egypt said that that indicates Israel intended to stay.

--Israel has to stop building settlements on the occupied land. Israel's settlement projects violate every notion for peace or settlement, and they make the outcome of any negotiations about the future of the West Bank meaningless.

--The matter of Taba which Israel is contesting with Egypt is to be settled.

Egypt regards these matters to be indicative of the fact that Israel has been taking Egypt's important positions in the course of the past year seriously. An address by Ambassador al-Shafi'i 'Abd-al-Hamid, the president of Egypt's delegation to the meetings of the international conference to champion the Palestinian people which was held in Geneva, affirmed the right of Palestinians to determine their own destiny and to establish their independent Palestinian state on the West Bank, Gaza and in Arab Jerusalem. The address affirmed that Israel's presence in the occupied territory was illegal and was based on force because

Israeli practices were incompatible with the UN Charter and the resolutions of the UN General Assembly.

On his part President Mubarak told THE WASHINGTON POST when he was in the United States, "Many Egyptians feel they were deceived by the Camp David Treaty. They feel that Israel's objective was not to establish peace with Egypt, but rather to neutralize the Egyptian army." Mubarak is absolutely right in that statement. One of the demands made by the Egyptian opposition, a demand that is met with emotional approval among broad circles of Egyptians, is that of recalling the Egyptian ambassador. That demand was made in June 1981 in the aftermath of Israel's attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor. The Popular Conference for Egyptian National Forces, which met on 16 June and was attended by representatives of the Labor Party, the Grouping Party, the Islamic Movement and Independents, issued a statement saying, "It is no longer acceptable for the ambassador of the terrorist state which is hostile to Arabs to remain in Egypt, nor is it acceptable for Egypt's ambassador to stay in Israel. The government of the Arab Republic of Egypt must immediately stop the normalization process and all relations that had ensued therefrom, whether these are trade, agricultural or cultural. In particular, all shipments of Egyptian oil to Israel must be stopped."

Another official statement that had an impact was that which was made by Field Marshal 'Abd-al-Halim Abu Ghazalah, Egypt's minister of defense. Abu Ghazalah warned about Israel's contentiousness and about the abnormal growth of its military capability.

#### The Future

So far there seem to be no early signs indicating that Egyptian leaders will set forth again in a principal and a radical way their strategic choices regarding the settlement of the Arab-Israeli struggle or Egypt's international relations. President Mubarak is saying that the Camp David Agreement is the only document that is binding on Israel and according to which Israel may be questioned.

But it is certain that Egypt's leaders are trying to restore a balance in Egypt's international relations, and they are trying to return Egypt to the Arab rank. There is no doubt that 'Arafat's visit and Mubarak's meeting with a large number of editors-in-chief of newspapers in the past 2 weeks constitute some of the features of this development.

One of the most important factors that will influence the development of events and Egypt's view of the matter is the U.S. position and the extent to which Washington will try to apply pressure on Egypt to return its ambassador. There are indications that during his recent visit to the United States President Mubarak noticed how much attention members of Congress were giving this subject. The Egyptian government must be watching closely the development of U.S.-Israeli relations and the demand Israel has been making publicly that the U.S. administration apply pressure to Egypt, particularly in a presidential election year. If the U.S. administration tries to apply pressure to Egypt openly, it is likely that President Mubarak will resist such attempts. At any rate the steps that the United States will take toward Egypt on this matter will be decisive in determining much of what will happen this year in the area.

## INFLUX OF ASIAN WORKERS DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic No 785, 30 Jan 84 pp 32-34

[Article by Muhammad Ibrahim al-Saqa: "Asian Workers and a Market Invasion"]

[Text] The Egyptian labor market has recently been exposed to a phenomenon unknown to it previously. Indeed, this phenomenon did not occur to anyone studying the Egyptian labor market. It amounts to the increasing flow of imported workers from southern and eastern Asia. These people have come because of the pressure produced by low income levels and high unemployment levels in their countries. Either they hope to find better job opportunities and achieve higher income levels, or they have come because they think Egypt is a transit station in which to wait for a suitable opportunity to emigrate once again to one of the Arab oil states.

The phenomenon is in and of itself a strange one. It requires one to stop and think for a while. It has been traditionally agreed that the Egyptian labor market has a surplus, due to the immense size of the available labor force in comparison with the potential for finding employment in the country. This situation has been reversed in recent years. The Egyptian labor market now suffers from a scarcity of workers. However, this scarcity does not include all specialties. Rather, it takes in specialties of a trade and technical nature, as well as those for which demand has increased both at home and abroad (in the Arab labor market) at the same time.

This partial reversal in the Egyptian labor market has been produced by numerous factors. Some of these are structural, and have to do with the nature of Egypt's economic and social composition. An example would be the expansion of education services, coupled with the lack of coordination between the graduates from the education sector and the needs of the labor market in terms of both quality and quantity. Of course, the relationship between education and training has been cut. The focus has been placed on education, while training has been neglected. The serious nature of the role played by training institutions in meeting the needs of the Egyptian labor market has been neglected as well. Moreover, artisans and technical workers have tended not to pass their trades on to their sons. This tendency has been increasing, although these workers are sure that their trades are the major cause of their prosperity and success. This means that they still have not absorbed the lessons to be learned from the labor market today. They have not learned



from the continuation of the employment policy and the commitment to appoint the surplus graduates, who are merely absorbed superficially, while no attempt is made to retrain them in accordance with the needs of the labor market.

There is another urgent factor, which may be the most important one. It is the increasing emigration of Egyptians. Emigration has been practiced mainly by those groups of which no large supply exists in the Egyptian labor market.

Emigration has led to rapidly rising wages. Thus, the relationship between wages and productivity has disappeared for many groups, since the rising wages have not been produced by increased marginal productivity on the part of these workers so much as by a lack of supply from these groups. Indeed, emigration has caused the productivity of the available supply of these workers to fall greatly, because of the following factors:

- a) Emigration itself was selective. Primarily skillful and specialized workers emigrated. This has caused the quality of the remaining supply to fall.
- b) The process of replacing these workers was not complete, and the replacements were not on the same level of skill as those who left.
- c) Because of the higher wages, some workers accept jobs abroad that have nothing to do with their skills. This affects their experience in this area.
- d) The value of labor declines in the eyes of these workers, because they receive wages that have nothing to do with their productivity.

All these factors, especially the last one, have caused employers in the country to welcome the Asian workers. They have done so especially because these workers possess special characteristics that make them attractive to employers. Indeed, these characteristics cause the employers to prefer these workers to Egyptian workers. These characteristics are:

Low wages, high productivity as compared with similar Egyptian workers, blind obedience, orderliness in their work, patience, fortitude, and seriousness in their work. Moreover, they are willing to work under any circumstances. They are not tied to their employers by contracts. It is precisely these characteristics that have helped drive up the demand for Asian workers in the Arab oil countries, where they have become the primary competitors with Egyptian workers.

#### Economic and Social Cost

There is no doubt that the coming of these workers to Egypt will produce a certain relaxation in the Egyptian labor market. However, a great question remains: what cost will Egypt have to pay in social and economic terms?

In beginning our analysis, we must distinguish between effects on the general level and those on the particular level. It is not necessary for the effects on these two levels to agree. We will focus on the comprehensive level. The probable social and economic effects of the Asian workers on the national level are represented by the following factors at least:

Although these workers receive lower wages than Egyptian workers, their capacity for saving their income and transferring it abroad is considered very high. This is because these workers emigrate with the announced goal of working for a limited period abroad in order to save as much as possible. After doing so, they return to their home countries once again. Their exodus is temporary in form and economic in nature. The available studies of emigre remittances indicate that a reverse relationship exists between the occupational level and the remittances. The highest remittance rate is found among workers who have low skill levels. The rate falls as the occupational level rises. The Asian workers coming to Egypt are mostly of the first type.

Since these workers will return to their countries sooner or later, they will take their savings with them. Of course, they will not take them back in the form of Egyptian pounds, but in hard currency. This is especially true given the absolute freedom with which Egyptian pounds can be changed into hard currency via the black market in foreign exchange. This means that these workers will place additional pressure on the quantity of foreign exchange available on the Egyptian black market. The increase in black market demand will doubtlessly raise the value of hard currency. Consequently, the value of the Egyptian pound in this market will fall. This will be followed by a decline in the official price of the Egyptian pound. Egyptian experience in this area has proven that the official price of the pound is tied to its price on the black market. through an intermediate link, which is the pound's incentive price. The desire to hold the difference between the black market price and the incentive price within certain limits has led several times to an increase in the incentive rate, so that in the end the official value of the Egyptian pound had to be lowered.

The transfers made by these workers will be accomplished in all the currencies on the black market. The primary source of this money is the income of our workers abroad, which the state tries very hard to attract back into the country, so that the Asian workers will absorb it once again and transfer it abroad. This is all rather provocative. How can we benefit from the continued exporting of our workers, if workers then come from other countries and absorb the foreign currency our workers send us?

The transfers made by these workers is causing an expansion of the gap that already exists between credits and debits in Egypt's balance of payments. This makes the balance of payments problem more complex, since the balance is suffering from a structural imbalance. These transfers are urgently needed to deal with the alarming balance of payments deficit.

The Egyptian economy adopted the policy of encouraging emigration, which was seen as a way of ameliorating the population explosion and lessening the

pressure behind increased consumption and the growing demand for housing, utilities, communications, and other services. Emigration was also seen as a way to raise rates of saving, increase the supply of hard currency, and decrease the deficit in the balance of payments. How can these goals be achieved if we bring in foreign workers who will help to increase the severity of these problems? One finds agreement in the literature on emigration that emigration to the host country helps to solve some of its problems, the most important one being the shortage of labor. However, emigration to Egypt will help to increase the severity of the problems from which it suffers.

These workers' chances of success, which seem assured in light of the circumstances currently being experienced by the Egyptian labor market, will provide them with an incentive to bring their families and friends over. Emigration encourages emigration. This means that the success achieved by the first generation of immigrants becomes a factor encouraging subsequent generations. The first generation plays a very important role as a source of information concerning the host country. The first generation alleviates the problems that confront subsequent waves of immigrants. One thinks of the problems involved in making housing and residential facilities available, and in alleviating the difficulties of social adjustment and homesickness.

In this case, the role of these workers will not be limited to merely filling the gap in some sectors of the labor force. Rather, it will extend to competing with Egyptian workers on their own ground. The essential problem is that these types of workers are not really required, since we have a large stock of similar workers. The problem facing us is not one of a shortage. Rather, it is one of directing the surplus.

The fact that these workers are satisfied to work for any wage and under any conditions, along with their high productivity, will make employers less likely to grant Egyptian workers the rights guaranteed them by law. The employers will want to get rid of the contractual burdens they bear, such as insurance payments, health care costs, and payments made on retirement, when an employee leaves his job, etc. They will be able to do so by employing foreign workers. These obligations represent large gains made by Egyptian workers, and they ought to be maintained.

These workers pose a threat to the structure of social values, since they disseminate customs and traditions that are foreign to Egyptian society. This effect might appear to be slight, because these workers are few in number right now and can be absorbed by Egyptian society. However, as their numbers increase, and as they cling to their customs and values and concentrate, they will have an effect on social values in the country. These workers have different languages, religions, customs, and traditions. This is considered to be one of the most important problems now being faced by the Gulf states, in which large numbers of Asian workers are concentrated.

These workers have been a source of worry and political instability in the countries in which they have been present in unusually large numbers, such as the Gulf states. These countries no longer possess the ability to move

with complete freedom and dynamism in domestic or foreign affairs. In the United Arab Emirates (UAE), for example, the issuing of decrees concerning the regulation of workers has been held up because the Indian parliament insists on the necessity of discussing these decisions and recommendations. This is considered a form of interference in the affairs of the UAE. The countries of origin interfere to protect the interests of their workers, if need be. Moreover, we are not far away from the kind of disturbances faced by France as a result of protest marches undertaken by its immigrant workers.

Finally, a basic question remains: has the situation in the Egyptian labor market reached the point at which the importation of foreign workers is called for, although one of our biggest structural problems consists of high rates of open and disguised unemployment? How can we import workers from abroad when hundreds and thousands are waiting to be appointed to the work force, in order to be added to the ranks of those who are afflicted by disguised unemployment? How can we import workers from abroad when our government institutions are swarming with hundreds of thousands of employees who cannot find anything to do? This phenomenon calls for concern and necessitates a search for a solution. It might seem to some that the solution consists of preventing these workers from coming to Egypt. No. Then we would merely be dealing with the external aspect of the problem without looking at its real, essential causes. The problem cannot be solved by halting the importation of workers. Rather, it can be solved by treating the causes that led to their importation. This means it is necessary to reestablish a balance in the labor market and reform the current state of affairs by trying harder to re-train and re-qualify Egypt's surplus labor force.

Egypt is a country that is richer in human resources than in natural resources. Therefore, the training of its work force must become its primary social and economic issue, as was indicated by the economic conference in February 1982.

12224

CSO: 4504/165

SUSPENSION OF HUGE PETROCHEMICAL PROJECT CRITICIZED

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2903, 30 Jan 84 pp 18-19

[Article by Samir 'Izzat: "250 Million Pounds on the High Seas"]

[Text] Can you believe that we have thrown 250 million pounds into the sea? This money represents 3 years of effort on the part of experts, officials, and international and Egyptian companies.

It represents a large project that is part of Egypt's development plan. The plan was worked out by scientific and political geniuses.

This is the project: a petrochemical complex. Its planners announced that it would be the salvation of Egypt's industry.

Here are the magnitude of the project and its costs: \$2 billion. That is, it is an operation twice the size of the High Dam project. It will yield 1.5 billion pounds a year.

We have taken out an international loan at its expense. We have devoted to it Egypt's finest minds in the fields of petroleum and chemical engineering. We have set up a special company for it.

But now its fate is unknown.

The company which is undertaking the project is beginning to work. It is spending 250 million pounds for the first stage. The second stage began with a request for the introduction of ethylene gas to the port of Alexandria. The ministers of petroleum, mineral resources, transportation and communications, and sea transport all agreed.

Despite this, the official refused to allow the introduction of the gas to the port of Alexandria, because he feared the danger of fire. This kind of gas catches fire quickly. The port contains petroleum, alcohol, butane, cattle, eggs, chicken, etc.

The world says it is possible to bring in the gas, just as has been done in the ports of the countries of the world that have carried out such projects before Egypt.

We discussed, studied, thoroughly investigated, consulted, and planned. And we made the project part of the plan.

Do you want more information?

#### The First Act

##### The First Scene:

Last week, the cabinet discussed the follow-up report on the first half of the development plan for 1983/84. Dr al-Janzuri, the minister of planning, said during the discussion of the oil sector, "The rate of execution of investments has fallen. We are achieving 23 percent of what is intended. The reason is the delay in the process of removing mines from the Western Dessert, as well as the postponement of work on the line from Shaqir to Asyut. This, in turn, has been caused by disagreements concerning the site and the delay in contracting for special equipment for the project to exploit the gases which are associated with the Sinai crude."

However, the report had nothing to say about the petrochemical complex!

##### The Second Scene:

In the 1960's one of the state's dreams and goals was to enter the age of petrochemicals and catch up with some advanced nations, or even with some Arab countries that had gone into this field ahead of us, such as Saudi Arabia and Qatar. This would give Egypt a productive capacity worth 1.5 billion pounds a year. The country would be able to benefit from the petroleum gases extracted from the oil fields.

Then a site in the region of al-'Amiriyah and the sector of al-Nahdah was chosen. The project was introduced into the 5-year plan. Its cost was estimated to be \$2 billion; 350 feddans were set apart for it and fenced. In the first stage, it was planned to produce the substance called polyvinyl chloride. It is a raw material of plastic, which is used in numerous industries.

In view of the very high cost and the difficulty involved in transporting the gas over long distances of up to 400 kilometers, the political leadership decided to import ethylene gas, because of its cheap price, and use it in the first stage of the complex's operation, thereby realizing the production of annual output worth 150 million pounds.

A special lake was set up to produce caustic soda, which is used in cleaning and weaving industries, as well as in nutritional industries. The aim was to produce a surplus for export. The same lake was to be used to extract chlorine, which would be used to produce vinyl chloride. Vinyl chloride is the primary product for which the petrochemical complex is being set up, in the first stage. The aim is to stop importing it eventually and export surplus output instead.

### The Third Scene:

Via the Petroleum Board, the government began to contract with the directors of various international companies. It did so in accordance with protocol, in order to obtain loans for the importing of the huge project's machinery and equipment. The machinery actually arrived. The concessionaire began to execute the project, whose magnitude exceeds the revenues of the Suez Canal, and whose importance is greater than that of the High Dam, given the project's economic and social impact, as well as its large potential effect on the balance of payments (1.5 billion pounds a year) and the country's exports. The project will rectify the path of the balance of payments and employ 5000 workers. That is, it will support 5000 families, or about 30,000 citizens. These 5000 families will have 5000 residential units, which will make up a new center of development. Thousands of feddans will be reclaimed and the suburbs of Alexandria and the neighboring areas will be developed.

### The Second Act

#### The First Scene:

Dr Hani 'Abd al-Fattah, the chairman of the board of the petrochemical company, told the story in a realistic fashion:

"We began working on the construction of three power plants, each with a capacity of 25 megawatts, as well as another power plant with a capacity of 45 megawatts. The aim was to produce a surplus, so we could supply Alexandria and the new suburbs with electricity. Water-processing units were set up and roads were cut. The road leading to the petrochemical complex was paved. On 17 December 1982, the company completed contract negotiations for the project to receive, store, and ship ethylene. It was stipulated that the work had to be done within 20 months, so it would be possible to keep up with the operations timetable in accordance with the development plan.

"However, the company has still not been able to get permission from the Alexandria Port Authority to use the petroleum basin to unload liquefied ethylene tankers. Nor has it been able to get permission to extend a pipeline used to unload the tankers to the chosen site on land belonging to the Egyptian Petroleum Company in al-Maks, in order to set up storage facilities. The distance between the harbor and the storage facility must not be more than 1.7 kilometers. Consequently, there is no alternative to using the current petroleum basin."

The chairman of the company added: "Failure to complete this project on the date set for the start of production will completely paralyze the complex and cause the state a great loss, since it will be impossible for it to operate the units during the grace period. In addition, the sums that have been contracted for will be lost. They are now estimated to total about 250 million pounds!"

The Second Scene: inside on the day of 18 October 1982

Major General Anwar Hijazi, the chairman of the Alexandria Port Authority, is reading the reply written by Major General 'Ali Ibrahim Diraz, the director of the harbor police, in response to the request by the chairman of the company: "For the reasons contained in the report, the administration does not agree to the extension of the ethylene pipeline. The report was prepared by Colonel Amin 'Abd al-Hamid Nafi'. He based the rejection on the danger posed by the ethylene to the safety and security of the port and the surrounding area. This danger is inconsistent with the presence of the new grain silo building as well...due to the presence of various petroleum substances, including butane, benzene, etc."

The Third Scene: inside, on the day of 9 November 1982. Engineer Ahmad 'Izz al-Din reads the memorandum prepared by the chairman of the Petroleum Board. It contains a draft of an address by the minister of transportation, by which he intends to issue his instructions for giving permission for the extension of a line for receiving liquefied ethylene from pier 87/3. It says: "We would like to inform you that the company has actually begun to execute its projects, with about 400 million pounds ... In view of the fact that the ethylene is transported in special tankers that have cooling units that keep the substance liquid (at a temperature of 104 degrees below zero), and since these tankers cannot pump ethylene for more than 1.5 kilometers, the company has no alternative but to choose piers 87/3 and 87/4... It is well known that these piers are equipped with pipe lines for receiving butane gas, which is pumped at a relatively high pressure... The minister of transportation agrees, under the condition that security precautions will be taken." Despite that, the head of the harbor does not.

The give-and-take is lasting a long time.

Committees are being formed. They meet and are dismissed.

This has been going on for 15 months...so far.

The First Act

The First Scene:

On the high seas, a transport vessel carrying experts in civil defense and fire prevention from Cairo, Alexandria, and the Alexandria Port Authority undertook a trip at the expense of the Petroleum Board, so the experts could view sites similar to the project in several international ports in a number of different countries. The trip showed that it was possible to transport ethylene gas without danger. However, the committee of experts was divided. The scientific and technical element (Dr Salim Hakim) thought no difficulty or danger would be involved at all!

The Second Scene:

Mr Ghanim, a chemist, entered the office of Major General Anwar Hijazi, the head of the port authority, in order to say that "debris" from livestock



transports was present in the petroleum basin, and that our ports were not like those of Italy, France, and Cyprus. He said that straw, hay, and other debris were to be found in front of Gate 56, and that this meant that the workers hired by the contractor responsible for bringing the livestock to the quarantine area could cause a fire, since they smoked cigarettes while standing on the straw. He said the workers were unmindful of the danger inherent in the situation. He said there was no security force for fighting a fire started in the straw. Nor were there any firemen around to prevent smoking in the area!

#### The Last Scene:

The hall of the People's Assembly during the sessions held this week (27 January) and on the following days:

Deputy Tawfiq Zaghlul submitted an urgent request for information concerning everything you have now read. He submitted the request to the deputy prime minister for production, the minister of transportation, the minister of the interior, the minister of local rule, and the minister of planning.

#### Curtain

The masses:

Now that the story has been told, the masses ask that it continue to be told, so that the men on the stage of politics can pursue it further!

12224

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STUDENT LEADER CALLS FOR REVOLUTIONARY APPROACH TO PAN-ARAB PROBLEMS

Tripoli SHABAB AL-'ARAB in Arabic No 2, 5 Dec 83 pp 10-13

[Article: "The President of the National Federation of Mauritanian Students and Trainees: Explosions Are the Only Answer!"]

[Text] Mauritania is the historic connecting link between the Arabs and Africa. It is going through the struggle of development and progress, with all its vexations, and the struggle of asserting its identity at the same time, after the sharp knife of colonialism had traced out its borders. It is still going through the conditions of the past and is aspiring to the future.

Students and pupils in Mauritania are living through harsh circumstances of austerity. Students come with their cattle or goats, whose milk they drink, and live in their tents in order to devote themselves full time to learning and spiritual exercise. Mauritania has been distinct from other countries in the north and west of Africa in its resistance to French education. After independence, French culture was given broad circulation, on the pretext of the need for personnel. When the government took exception to the fact that the people who had received their education from textbooks were not good at numerous government jobs, they found what they were looking for in the Moslems of Senegal, who were made Mauritanian citizens. The delay in Mauritania's incorporation into the Arab League also contributed to the spread of French. It was admitted in 1960 but joined the Arab League in 1973.

All the circumstances Mauritania has gone through have made its Arab youth a force whose shoulders are joined to create what is good for the country, to cause Mauritania to perform its role in full with the other countries of the great Arab nation, and therefore a student youth framework containing the students and young people of Mauritania, through which they could exercise their fighting role, was formed. This framework is the National Federation of Mauritanian Students and Trainees. In this issue, SHABAB AL-'ARAB is meeting with our brother Hamoud Ahmed Abadi, chairman of the federation, and the young readers inside and outside the greater Arab nation will know the identity of this fledgling organization and its positions regarding a number of Arab causes.

[Question] Could you acquaint the young Arab reader with the goals of your fledgling organization?

[Answer] At the outset, let me thank my brothers in the General People's Information Committee of the General Conference of Students of the Jamahiriyah who are supervising the magazine SHABAB AL-'ARAB, which I hope from the sincerity of my heart will indeed be a free, frank podium for all Arab young people, through which they can express their opinions and theories, so that free speech, calling for the attainment of the hopes of the Arab people for liberation and unity, may be advanced.

On your question concerning the organization, I would like to say that the National Federation of Mauritanian Students and Trainees is indeed a newly emerging organization. It held its founding conference between 15 and 19 August 1982. This organization is the framework for all the Mauritanian students, a union and combative framework, a union framework as it defends the material and moral interests of the students and young people before the Mauritanian government, and a combative one as it enables Mauritanian youth to take part in all the struggles the Arab masses are leading for the sake of realizing the goals of the Arab struggle to give concrete form to the struggles of the Arab masses, as summarized by specific goals, starting with liberation, the confrontation of colonialism, progress through social justice, and the confrontation of backwardness. This framework functions through the regional stage in Mauritania to establish the presence of the students and get them to participate in promoting conditions in Mauritania with the goal of liberating Mauritanian politically, culturally and economically and building a free, united, prosperous Mauritania, and it also participates in the Arab stage by standing alongside all other Arab people's fighting movements to realize the goals of the Arab nation.

[Question] Is there anything additional one could learn about the composition of this new organization?

[Answer] The federation, in terms of organizational structure, consists of a general conference which is held every 3 years. All our Arab brother students who are present in all areas of the world and domestically take part in this conference, especially since our Mauritanian brother students and young people are to be found in the various countries of the world, in Europe, Africa and even Asia. These areas, through the base organizations, which we call the departments, choose their representatives for the conference, which is held every 3 years in Nouakchott, and it chooses the legislative leaders for the federation who are represented first of all in the national council of 20 members who are chosen by the conference and the representatives of the sections, in addition to the members of the national bureau, who are 19 in number and are chosen by the conference, as well as the executive committee, which consists of seven secretaries (five in addition to the federation president and secretary general). Each secretary has a first assistant and a second assistant. In terms of methods of functioning, the federation has combative means which it can use at every time, and in addition it is free to express all its political positions, as declared in its political documents, and can express them through the media and through its own information facilities. It has combative means which are represented by strikes and demonstrations, and means for protesting in the event its legitimate demands are not realized. In the union context, there is a constant dialogue between us and the authorities, on grounds that the

regime is a social partner. The dialogue concerns legitimacy. If we do not agree and if our union interests are not realized, we can resort to the use of our legitimate methods, which the organization's constitution specifies. Through our cooperation with the brothers on the student stage, in the context of the Arab nation, or in the context of Africa or in the world in general, we indeed can through our participation contribute toward the attainment of all the basic goals which we believe in. In addition, through these student contexts and areas, we can express our revolutionary positions, as basically embodied in support for all legitimate causes and in the explanation of our own causes, especially our basic Arab cause, to the world.

[Question] Recently [with] the Zionist invasion, which started with a series of Arab concessions, when the Zionist enemy started to advance and encroach on the Arab nation in the desire to end its existence, American imperialist military force is being mobilized off the Lebanese Arab coast and inside Lebanon to compel it to submit to American and Zionist imperialist dominance. We would like you to explain to the Arab reader your fledgling organization's position vis-a-vis this cause.

[Answer] In Mauritania in general, in the arena of the people and in the context of the masses, we, the National Federation of Mauritanian Students and Trainees, as the framework for educated Mauritanian youth, view the central Arab cause as the cause of all the Arabs, as embodied in the occupation of Arab territory by the Zionist gangs. We consider that this is an issue which Arabs must look at, in order to set forth from the need to preserve the existence and the honor of the Arabs, not through some political facts or haphazard positions which are taken to get close to one great power or another or one regime or another. We consider that there is Arab territory in Palestine in which different people have been implanted by Western imperialism, and this entity will remain a stooge of this imperialism, and a means for attaining the goals of imperialism within our Arab arena. In particular, it will remain a means for preventing the attainment of Arab unity, on grounds that it is a knife that was planted in the heart of the Arabs and among the parts of the Arab land, to its east and west. We believe that Palestine is Arab and that the Arabs must never under any circumstances relinquish the Arabhood of Palestine; the struggle that started in 1948 is a struggle of civilization between the Arabs and Zionism, and, if the West and its Zionist stooge in Palestine have up to now managed to stay stronger, the Arabs must become strong now. Strength alone is able to gain the for Arabs what was taken from them by force. We believe in the eternal dictum which holds "What was taken by force can be regained only by force." We believe that right, without might, is a waste, and if we consider that we are weak and cannot achieve what is desirable we will never be able to be a party, crush the [oppressors'] hands, and stipulate to the enemy what he has pillaged, especially since we believe that we Arabs are stronger and that our economic resources, our human abilities, our civilization, our belief in our sacred spiritual possessions and our solidarity, on the basis of our revolutionary principles and on the basis of our heritage, which we have derived from our experiences through a series of years, can all, if mobilized in service of the cause, restore to us, as Arabs, our rights in Palestine. As for what is happening one place or another on the borders of Palestine, that

is only a small picture of the great conspiracy and the great void in Palestine. Zionism and western imperialism are trying, through alliance with Arab reaction, to impose a fait accompli on the Arabs, and we believe that the Arab masses must reject this scheme. If Arab will had triumphed even after the 1967 setback, with the Khartoum conference, and it had been able to say "no," and produce the eternal "nos," the nos of rejection, what happened after that, after what they called the victory in 1973, in Ramadan, which is no longer, or as we understand it ourselves, a war of provocation which occurred as part of the comprehensive scheme, which wants the Arabs to acknowledge the fait accompli and have them abandon the cause and renounce Palestine, if we believe that this scheme, starting with the implantation of the Zionist entity, and passing through all the attempts at wars which have been launched and the operations of occupation of other Arab territories, in Sinai, Golan and the Gaza Strip, all of which attempts, all of which attacks lie within a single context, the attempt to force the Arabs to submit, [would not have happened]. Either there should be Arabs, in the sense that they should reject abasement, or there should be absolutely no Arabs at all. Once the scheme was completed, it turned into the war of provocation which we talked about, and the dead traitor, Anwar al-Sadat, stated that all the cards of the cause are in the hands of America, which of course they considered to be true, as long as America was the strong party and we the Arabs the weak one. America will not hand over the cards of the cause to the Arabs, and they will remain in America's hands, as long as it is strong and can do everything through the Zionist enemy. However, it will do only what will serve this entity, and this entity will do only what serves America. The enemy is America and the enemy is the Zionist entity and American imperialism, which is standing in general behind the enemy, which is the enemy of the Arabs. If the Arabs realize this, they will in fact be able to confront the cause. If the current turns in toward some "peace" schemes and plans (in quotes), which we ourselves consider "surrender plans," starting with the Camp David scheme, proceeding through the Fahd plan and ending with the Reagan proposals and the attempts that are still underway, in which Arab reaction, Zionism and America come together over the same thing, which is the need for the Arabs to abandon the cause and betray honor, we condemn all the Arab leaders who have not moved and who have accepted these schemes, and we consider that the process is one of treason which cannot be stopped in any way unless the revolutionary Arab masses act through their people's organizations, unions and personnel and through all means, until they put pressure on the regimes, and these regimes feel that the masses exist. The reactionary regimes existed before, and they feared the masses. Now, however, we are afraid that even Arab will has died among the Arabs. Had it not been for the recent operations in Beirut, in which we see Arabs, and Moslems in general, dying and sacrificing themselves for the cause, that would have taken full form and become crystallized in our minds.

[Question] Recently many Arab countries have gotten in touch with the government of Egypt, in an attempt to violate the boycott of Egypt, which the Arab governments reached unanimous agreement over in Baghdad, under pressure from the Arab masses. However, it is being circulated in political circles that the Egyptian government will appear at the summit conference in Riyadh. What is your organization's position on that?

[Answer] First, as regards the answer to the question, we have always believed, and still do believe, in the importance of the role of Egypt, Egypt the people, Egypt the land, to the cause of the Arabs, the Arab presence, and the Arab nation -- Egypt, by virtue of its human resources and its geographic position, and by virtue of the historic role it has led throughout the recent period of the history of the Arabs, especially since Egypt gave the Arabs 'Abd-al-Nasir, who led the Arab revolution and, through his exceptional ability to touch the nerves of the masses and move them toward objectives, and ultimately through his interaction with the Arab stage and his direct interaction with the masses to crystallize the goals of the Arab struggle, as embodied in liberation, freedom, socialism and unity. 'Abd-al-Nasir indeed was able to dictate even to the regimes in the black periods of the history of the Arabs that they stand alongside the cause and always accept the minimum. We believe that Egypt has an important role on the Arab stage, a vanguard role, which has been and must remain. We believe that Egypt must return to this role; Arab Egypt, the Egypt of the masses, Egypt of 'Abd-al-Nasir, must return. What is happening now is only a pathological state which must disappear. Before this state disappears, although we do not believe first of all in expecting much from the resolutions of conferences and governments, we nonetheless believe that what happened in Baghdad was a natural thing which the Arab masses dictated and that Egypt has still been diverted from its historic role to an agent of America and Zionism, so we must keep our distance from it.

We are always on the side of the Arab people in Egypt, and we believe that these people must be liberated and that the Arabs must rid themselves of the regime which was imposed on them, which has relinquished the cause, sold the dignity and abandoned all Arab principles and Arab interest. However, what was resolved through the Baghdad conference was the minimum which the Arab governments approved, under the force of Arab mass pressure, because there is no scope for retreat or abandonment of these resolutions, until the causes which brought them about are eliminated. We really believe, not from just the objective standpoint but also from the logical standpoint, that if the reason which led the Arab governments to boycott Egypt (because these governments did not make the declaration of their own accord, but rather made the declarations; the Fez resolutions do not differ greatly from the Camp David schemes) [is not eliminated] and yet, in spite of that, Egypt has still been linked to Zionism through the exchange of ambassadors and through its actual link, and through being turned into American bases, we must indeed refuse, and the Arab masses must refuse, to deal with Egypt. Egypt must continue to be boycotted until the causes which led to its ejection from the Arab rejection arena are eliminated.

[Question] What is your organization's position on the following Arab causes: the cause of the Western Sahara?

[Answer] First of all, to acquaint the Arab reader, especially the young reader, with the positions our organization has taken, and which it is taking, toward Arab causes, Arab youths must first of all become familiar with and informed about the nature of Mauritania. Even Mauritania was unknown to a number of our Arab youths on our Arab stage, and that ignorance may be attributed to a number of historic factors and elements, among the most important of which are:

When Mauritania first gained token independence in 1960, Morocco asked for it, and considered it an integral part of Morocco. The Arab countries at that time indeed agreed unanimously that Mauritania was an integral part of Morocco, and they backed Morocco's position. Even 'Abd-al-Nasir, the historic leader of the Arab nation, who at that time was indeed leading the Arab masses' struggles, traveled to Moscow and asked it to use the veto against Mauritania's joining the United Nations in 1961. That indeed happened, and Mauritania did not join the United Nations Organization at the time of its first request. Mauritania's affiliation with a reactionary puppet fabricated regime which was the offspring of the French social school led Mauritania to throw itself further into the embrace of France, and consequently to be linked more closely to its southern borders than to the Arab arena. In fact as a result of that Mauritania remained unknown to the Arabs to the point where it only joined the Arab League in 1973, to the point where it continued to create surprises for the Arabs as they read what Mauritania showed and what appears to the eye in this Arab Moslem country. Conflicts would occur from time to time when an Arab intellectual would express an opinion that was not very well informed about Mauritania. For example, to explain this situation, I can narrate an event which recently occurred, which the Arab Egyptian writer and journalist Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal described to the magazine AL-MUSTAQBAL, which is issued in Paris. He said:

"One of the present tragedies of the Arabs is that they agree to have non-Arabs such as Mauritania, for example, and Somalia and Eritrea, join the Arab family." That prompted a number of young people and students of Mauritania to send angry letters to Haykal, and every Arab newspaper has published letters from all the young Arab people in Mauritania, in anger over this sort of claim.

Mauritania is the Western gateway to the Arab nation, and Mauritania has always been Arab and will remain Arab. The Arabs knew Mauritania under the name Shingit, the land of the Shingits, who always kept carrying the torch of Arab culture and carrying it into the jungles of Africa, and also took part in the creation of Arab civilization in the Arabian Peninsula. We find for example that Muhammad Mahmud al-Shinqiti was the one who reviewed and wrote the foreword to al-Firuzabadi, the encyclopedia. There are many others besides. Among them there was even someone who occupied the administration of al-Azhar at some period of time, and many of the people from these families are still in Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. They are to be thanked for spreading and protecting Arab culture and contributing to a number of genuine catalogues of jurisprudence, grammar and the Arabic language. In addition, the manuscript volumes to which Mauritanian Arab scholars contributed that are registered with the international organization UNESCO number more than 4,000, and they are all in Arabic. I recently read in the magazine AL-SHIRA', which is issued in Lebanon, that the Arab east has recently become cognizant of a passionate current of Arabhood in Mauritania. They had thought that Arabhood existed only in the east; in reality the Arabhood there, in the wilderness, there in the desert, is more passionate and connected to the Arab identity. Therefore we in Mauritania want the Arabs to know first of all that we are Arabs and that our Arabhood is a cause that cannot remain unknown or a subject of doubts.

Therefore our objective circumstances in Mauritania, as educated young people in the country and as students, dictate that we commit ourselves to the causes of our country and our nation, and we have clear positions on all Arab issues. These positions are governed by principles, among the most important of which are that we are on the side of all just legitimate causes and we are on the side of all progressives and against reaction, wherever it is, and colonial and imperialist schemes. Proceeding from these premises, I can summarize for you our organization's position on the issue of the Sahara.

We indeed believe that Arab unity is a cause and one of the basic objectives of our Arab nation. However, we believe, along with other Arabs, that Arab unity cannot come about by force. As the leader of the Arab struggle, Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, said, "Arab unity cannot be by force. The methods of the great goals of nations must be of an honor that matches their goals."

Unity cannot be the unity of a flock that is added to the sheep of a given shepherd, a given official, a given king or a given emperor. Rather, unity is the unity of the masses and it is the masses who realize it; it is realized through the will of the masses. We, in terms of principle, are against small entities. However, at the same time, we are against a unity that is imposed on any people. Proceeding from this premise, the Western Sahara is part of the Arab arena and part of the Arab nation, and the people of the Sahara are part of the Arab people, but, by virtue of the situation the Arab people colonized by Spain went through, let this portion become independent and let the people of the Sahara determine their destiny as part of the Arab people and take part in the struggles of the Arab masses in order to attain Arab unity. Therefore we are on the side of the struggle of the people of the Sahara under the leadership of Polisario, to determine their own destiny and gain their independence on their own territory, and against the process of the occupation of the Western Sahara in the context of what is called the tripartite agreement in which the reactionary puppet regime in Mauritania, the regime of Mokhtar Ould Daddah, and the reactionary monarchical regime in Morocco participated, and consequently we want the people of the Sahara to become liberated and to be left the right to determine their own destiny.

However, in spite of that, we believe that Arabs must ultimately realize their course and must ultimately hold their reactionary leaders, who have sold their cause and abandoned their dignity, to account. On that subject, as far as we are concerned, we consider that the issue of the current presence of American and Western forces in Arab territorial waters, especially before Syria and Lebanon, are all attempts which lie within the imperialist colonialist scheme. In any event, if the Arab masses from the Atlantic to the Gulf stand as a single man, rejecting debasement and refusing to have the Arabs bow down, it will be possible for the Arab progressive forces, whether they are in power or out, truly to stand fast before the attempts at forcing submission which imperialism and Zionism are making. In any event, in this context, we declare that we stand with the revolutionary national forces in Lebanon and in the Palestinian movement, and also within the Arab stage in general, especially Syria and the jamahiriyah, which are now through military forces standing on the hot line of confrontation with these enemies, who are lying in wait to ambush the Arabs' dignity, freedom and survival.



[Question] In the course of talking about Lebanon, can you orient the student position in Mauritania toward the American imperialist forces and their Zionist stooge through the heroic guerrilla operations which the people of Lebanon and the Lebanese national forces are carrying out these days?

[Answer] Our position on the heroic operations which our Arab brothers are carrying out in Lebanon and on the Palestinian stage against the forces of direct occupation, as embodied in Zionism, and also the indirect occupation which appears under numerous names, such as the peacekeeping force or the force for the preservation of survival -- we consider that the only response to this presence, which ultimately serves only the survival of the Phalangist-Zionist alliance and causes this alliance's scheme totally to dominate the stage of Arab Lebanon and expel all the people rejecting the capitulationist course in the region a success, the only response in actuality is the acts of setting off explosions and striking out by all means at the enemies, wherever they are, which the revolutionary citizens are carrying out, and we believe that all resources must be mobilized against the enemy. This enemy is never ashamed to kill Arab children, women and old people, so how should we be ashamed ourselves, especially as he is doing that on our land? How can we not face the colonialists on our land and the people committing aggression against our sacred belongings and people who are crushing underfoot our just rights to survive and not have our interests and our holy properties as Arabs infringed on and interfered with? We the students of Mauritania are ready to take part and will not hesitate to declare that we are standing alongside all heroic operations, because these operations will restore hope to us, and we consider them the only means by which the Arabs can assert, and truly assert, to the whole world that the Arabs reject this scheme and that the enemies must review their schemes, so that they will not just appraise the situation through Arab military governments and armies. After these operations, they will start to review their schemes on grounds that masses exist and that these masses are acting and sacrificing their lives for the sake of confronting the enemy.

[Question] What is your organization's position regarding the Iraqi-Iranian war?

[Answer] We in the National Federation of Mauritanian Students and Trainees, proceeding from the principles and premises we believe in, which I have already summarized, view what is happening in the Arab east, especially the war whose millstone is grinding on between our fraternal brothers in Iraq and our Moslem brothers in Iran, as another form of the imperialist scheme which has the goal of striking out at all the Arabs' and Moslems' assets and resources, diverting the Arabs and Moslems from the first national cause of the Arabs and the sacred cause of Islam, the cause of the liberation of Palestine and the liberation of Arab land from the filthy Jews and diverting the Arabs, the Moslems, from their basic causes of liberation and confrontation with colonialism and imperialism. We view the war as a scheme in which various bodies and forces have played roles in order to apply it.

We proceed from the premise that there must be a natural alliance between the Moslems in all areas of the world and the Arabs, on grounds that we, as ethnic groups, have been oppressed by colonialism and imperialism. All the oppressed ethnic groups in the world must come together in the face of the

oppressors represented by imperialism and Zionism. On this basis, we have considered that there is no justification for the war which Iran and Iraq have launched, especially since the Arabs breathed a sigh of relief when we took note of the Iranian revolution and it took the place of the Shah and raised slogans which prompted us to hope that power which previously had been with the enemy was now capable of helping us as Arabs and of standing alongside us against our common enemy. Consequently, the war which has taken place has dashed people's hopes and turned the Arab Iraqi army from its basic task, that of helping all the Arabs and all the Arab armies liberate Palestine, just as it has curbed the strength, the strength of the Moslem Iranian people, and has consequently prevented the latter from taking part. During their revolution, the Iranians also raised their well-known slogan "Today Iran, tomorrow Palestine." Here we are seeing that this war, in terms of its basis, lies within the context of the colonial scheme. We believe that there must be an alliance of some sort between the Arabs and Moslems in Iran and the Arabs and Moslems in general, because our enemy is the same and our interests are the same, and consequently there is no room for the war. Arab interests and Arab land, as far as we go, are sacred, and there is no room to infringe on Arabs' rights to their land. However, this matter must be resolved between us and our Moslem brothers through consultation and mutual understanding, and as a consequence our position, as we have defined it in the political declaration which was issued by the founding conference, may be summarized by our rejection of this war and our appeal to Iran and Iraq to end this war.

[Question] A question in two parts:

First, what is the proper framework which you are drawing up, or would like to see, from your standpoint, to establish comprehensive Arab unity, or the context of the establishment of comprehensive Arab unity which you as revolutionary Arab youths in the National Federation of Mauritanian Students and Trainees would like to see?

Second, there are measures which the jamahiriyah has taken, and which the leader of the Libyan Arab revolution, Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, has called for, for the sake of Arab unity and for the sake of bringing the day of unity closer, such as the declaration of Arab nationality in the jamahiriyah and the appeal to Arab young people to enter the Arab military colleges existing in the jamahiriyah?

[Answer] In all cases, we concur with all Arab progressives, with all people who believe in Arab unity and the historic unity of the Arabs, because Arab unity must be realized through the call of the masses to unity through the movement of the masses, so that they will make a broad, comprehensive uprising through which they can crush the artificial borders and create mass unity. We also believe that the Arab stage now even in its current form in the current period actually indicates progress toward unity.

Although the regional struggles and currents that exist on the Arab stage are regional currents, their presence actually prevents the establishment of unity. We indeed believe, through the simple observation that what is going on on the Arab stage, that what is happening is only proof and a prediction of the establishment of unity. The reactionary regional currents are

nourished by fabricated borders to form alliances, rally together and tie their efforts in with one another. However, the progressive and revolutionary currents are currents of unity which are nourished through unity. Ultimately, it is necessary that a meeting take place between all of them and that there be a final free decisive struggle, and we believe that the will of the masses, the masses which believe in the cause of the revolutionary masses, which believe in progress, will ultimately triumph in the end, because that is the will of God. Regarding the positions and measures that have been taken on the ground of the jamahiriya by our brother the commander of the revolution of 1 September, we first of all in Mauritania appreciate the role of unity played by the 1 September revolution, which first occurred in 1969, specifically after the setback, and constituted a new hope which would strengthen the revolutionaries' determination, and even the determination of the revolutionary Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, whom the 1967 setback affected, and whose will to continue it weakened. The 1 September revolution and other movements which occurred on the Arab stage occurred as a response to the defeat, in order to assert to the whole world and the Arab masses that the Arab will had survived and that the revolutionary course must continue. Indeed, it certainly must continue. Therefore the 1 September revolution occurred in this framework, and all the efforts and many attempts that are aimed at unity, even if they fail now to achieve the goal of unity, have not failed in the moral sense. They have created the current for unity, whose veins will become stronger and will continue, so that there will be a single Arab nationality and the borders of the jamahiriya will be opened to receive the Arabs. We do not consider this a great thing on its part; rather, it is mandatory. In fact, we consider that it is just part of the rear part of this course, and we indeed call for a mass position, the jamahiriya, to make further sacrifice in this area. We believe that this course, alone, will indeed guarantee that the Arabs' aspirations will be realized and that the goals of the Arabs, especially the lofty goal represented in Arab unity, will be realized.

[Question] Thank you. At the end of this meeting we would like, if you have any other observations or any other things to add.

[Answer] In any event, I return the thanks to our brothers in the magazine AL-SHABAB AL-'ARABI and the Media Secretariat of the General Conference of Students of the Jamahiriya. This is a general image of the specifications of the students of the jamahiriya, aimed at giving us an opportunity to be here to meet with all the brothers, to meet with the magazine SHABAB AL-'ARAB so that we can make our voice heard on the Arab stage, especially the youth stage. In any event, if I have a final thing to say, that is that we direct a passionate appeal, a fighting appeal, to all progressive Arab young people to be aware of the stage the Arab arena and the Arab cause are passing through and realize that the responsibility is the responsibility of the vanguard and the responsibility of the young people and the positive generations, which alone realize the meaning of sacrifice and believe in the cause, if they are united in words and continue to meet. The course will continue, and we undoubtedly in the end are progressing toward the objectives. More work and more struggle along the road of the Arab revolution, and we are convinced and certain that victory will be with us. I thank you, and peace be with you.

PARTICIPATION IN SUDAN AIR OPEN TO PRIVATE, FOREIGN CAPITAL

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 315, 5 Dec 83 Supplement p 2

[Article: "Sale of Sudan Air!"]

[Text] President Numayri has issued an order dissolving Sudan Air and changing its ownership from the public sector to a corporation controlled by the Sudanese and foreign private sectors. The decree stipulated that the Sudanese government's share in the new company was not to exceed 50 percent of the firm's capital, which is equivalent to the property of "SUDANAIR" airlines.

The assistant minister of defense stated that the president's decree changing the national airline to the private and foreign sectors was due to the increased competition in aviation and transportation. However, he did not clarify the effect that would result from changing the company from public to private, nor did he explain the reasons for the government's failure in managing and developing civilian aviation.

On the other hand, the Sudanese government for some time has begun to convert state organizations into the private sector or to offer them to foreign firms. In this regard, it announced that it was resolved to change the sugar factories to the private sector in view of these factories' production shortfalls. The president has previously stated his intention to convert the railroad sector into private firms, as well as to divide the al-Jazirah agricultural project along the same lines, based on removing it from the public sector and changing it to private companies. It is worth mentioning that this policy was approved by the World Bank, as a condition of continuing its assistance to the Sudanese government.

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CSO: 4504/188

CONTROVERSY OVER PIPELINE FINANCING REPORTED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 315, 5 Dec 83 Supplement p 2

[Article: "Failure of Oil Pipeline Project in Sudan"]

[Text] The Japanese Chiyoda Company has withdrawn from the oil pipeline project in Sudan and has refused to grant its financial share, after the Chevron oil exploration company in Sudan approved bids to build the pipeline to Italian and Japanese firms. The Chiyoda Company attributed its withdrawal to the fact that the Japanese government had noted the political dangers of the project and that it did not agree with the opinion of European governments that the project is not enmeshed in political dangers. Observers have noted that French and Dutch firms protested over being left out of the competitive bidding, on the pretext that France was a lender to the Sudanese government. The French companies complained to the Sudanese government, the American Chevron Company and the World Bank about bids being offered to Italian firms, which the Chevron Company tried to cover up by conducting discussions with the French firms about the possibility of their sharing with the Italian companies in implementing the project. However, the French apparently did not respond to this offer, and they spoke out against the illegality of the Italian firms agreeing on the project's financing, without the financing being tied to the public debts of the Sudanese government. This is a problem that will lead to confusion over Sudan's foreign debt schedule, especially with the "Paris Club" group.

The observers add that the meeting that was called for by the White Nile Company to salvage the project after France's protest, Japan's withdrawal, and Italy's inability to finance all the project's costs by itself, is regarded as a forerunner for more difficulties that have begun to surface. This will threaten the implementation of the entire project.

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CSO: 4504/188

# EXCHANGE OF MANPOWER WITHIN CONTEXT OF INTEGRATION PROMOTED

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 20 Jan 84 p 3

[Article by Hasan 'Uthman: "Elimination of Legal and Administrative Obstacles to the Movement of Manpower Between the Two Halves of the Nile Valley"]

[Text] It was decided to establish a program to develop manpower in the two halves of the Nile Valley, and to take practical measures to ensure the elimination of all legal and administrative obstacles, which interfere with the freedom of labor movement, in order to achieve equality between Egyptian and Sudanese workers regarding labor and employment rights and protective privileges, as well as the abolishment of work permits and facilitating the transfer of workers' savings in both countries to the country of origin.

That was announced by Badr al-Din Sulayman, first secretary of the central committee of the Socialist Union and minister of labor and social security in Sudan. He said that during his discussions with Sa'd Muhammad Ahmad, the minister of state for manpower, and Dr Amal 'Uthman, the minister of social security, the unification of social security rights and privileges was discussed, so that dualism would not happen in their social security burden.

There was also agreement on holding a labor forum during the first part of this year, to discuss the best ways to maintain equipment, tools and machinery, and to hold courses on maintenance problems.

A cultural course will be held in Khartoum for female union leaders in Egypt and Sudan, about the role of the female worker in the development of the Nile Valley society.

During a press conference, which he held yesterday, the Sudanese minister praised the guidance of President Husni Mubarak, during the president's meeting with him last Monday, in which he stressed the need for the commitment of labor and workers' organizations to mutual efforts, so that these efforts will be practical and positive, in order to achieve integration in the fields of labor, workers and trade unions in the two halves of the Nile Valley.

He also pointed out that President Mubarak underlined the need for these efforts to be reflected in practical and tangible progress down the road to integration.

Badr al-Din Sulayman reviewed the results of the discussions that he held in Cairo, and he said that a number of detailed programs in the fields of technical cooperation, industrial security and safety and employee health had been achieved with officials in the Ministry of Manpower and Training in Egypt.

#### Amendment to the Social Security Agreement

Both the Egyptian and Sudanese ministers of social security have signed the final amendments to the social security agreement between Egypt and Sudan.

An agreement has also been reached on forming a joint committee composed of representatives of the social security agencies in both countries. This will be done next March, in order to re-draft the executive regulations to achieve the goals of integrated social security.

#### Joint Offices

The two sides have also agreed to implement the preparatory stage of the integration plan, provided that the stage includes:

The establishment of a social security area in Sudan, which would supervise the social security organizations in the integrated zone;

the establishment of joint social security offices in the integrated zone;

the establishment of an independent social security fund for the integrated zone, and the formation of a joint working group to study the social security law for Egyptian workers abroad, in order to establish a unified system, whose regulations could be put into force for the two countries' workers abroad.

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## UAE FREEZES FINANCIAL ACTIVITY IN SUDAN

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 315, 5 Dec 83 Supplement p 1

[Article: "Abu Dhabi Cuts Investments"]

[Text] The secretary general of the Abu Dhabi Investment Agency, Ghanim al-Mazru'i, has stressed the need for official authorities in Sudan to prepare investment projects for submission to financiers, in order to encourage them to invest in Sudan. In a report sent to the Sudanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he added that "Cooperation between Sudan and the UAE in investment fields has not been good. This experience resulted in the establishment of the Sudanese-UAE Investment Company in 1975, with a capital of \$20 million. The margin of error in managing this firm, and the projects that is selected as an area of operation, did not result in the company's desired success.

Because of the Sudanese-UAE Investment Company's lack of progress and success even up to today, the UAE has shifted responsibility for the firm from the Economic Bureau in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Abu Dhabi Arab Economic Development Fund, with the goal of correcting the errors and achieving the desired success. However, the Fund has not shown sufficient enthusiasm so far, which has led to a suspension of efforts to correct the company's course."

The program of Abu Dhabi investments in Sudan, and the extent of the failure that has occurred, was presented in the report. It mentioned that "the Abu Dhabi Investment Agency previously participated in financing the al-Salit agricultural project at a cost of \$5 million. However, the project, as is well known, was not destined for success."

The report referred to the failure of two experiments undertaken by the Sudanese-UAE Investment Company, and the al-Salit agricultural project, causing large losses for the investment agency there, as well as for the financiers and investors. The report pointed out that Abu Dhabi was involved in a major way with this company's lack of success and progress.

On the other hand, the Sudanese government has not commented on this, even though this means that the UAE has frozen its financial activities in Sudan for the reasons stipulated in the report.



## MINISTER OF HEALTH BLAMED FOR CONTINUING PHYSICIANS' STRIKE

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 315, 5 Dec 83 Supplement p 6

[Article: "Physicians' Strike Continues in the North and Is Delayed in the South"]

[Text] After the warning strike carried out by Sudanese doctors, which continued until the middle of last month, the Sudanese authorities asked the doctors' union to call off the strike in order to discuss the physicians' demands. The union complied with this request, while stipulating that their strike would be opened in the event the government did not fulfill its obligations. However, the government did not keep the promise that it had made to conduct negotiations between the union and the minister of health, who had committed himself in his letter to the executive office of the physicians' union to the effect that he was empowered by the president to discuss the terms of doctors' service.

The Sudanese Physicians' Union has made it clear that the governmental authorities were less than anxious to negotiate. In this regard, it has reported all the facts that explain the reason that negotiations were stopped and matters reached an impasse.

1. On 10 October 1983, a meeting was held between representatives of the Ministry of Health (Dr Shakir al-Sarraj, Dr Muhammad Yusuf al-'Awad and Mr Muhammad Ibrahim 'Abdullah), and representatives of the doctors' union, and attended by Mr Shawqi Tubiya Baqtar, a representative of the labor agency. The terms of physicians' service were reviewed, article by article, and both sides agreed to them. The representative of the labor agency was asked to draft them into legal form, in participation with the two parties. This was done on 11 October 1983, and it was prepared for signature. When the union representatives went to meet with the under-secretary of the Ministry of Health, in order to sign them, as agreed upon, they learned that the documents were in the possession of the minister of health. Despite all attempts, the minister did not present the documents for signature.

2. The last session, considered to be one of the negotiating sessions, was on the morning of 17 October 1983, and in that meeting, the union was informed that the minister of health was empowered to be the official

representative of the state in the negotiations, but no negotiations took place at that session. The minister of health told the executive office that the president's empowering him should be considered a major achievement for the doctors' issue.

3. The minister of health called for a meeting, to be attended by the minister of labor. This meeting was held on 20 October 1983, and it was a meeting to demonstrate good intentions. There were no negotiations during it concerning improving the terms of doctors' service.

4. The last meeting was held in the office of the minister of health on 27 October 1983. It was attended by the minister of labor. It was supposed that there would be negotiations concerning the articles of conditions of service, but as previously occurred, it went no farther than the realm of good intentions and general conversation.

It is worth mentioning that the minister of labor, at this meeting, cited the law of industrial relations that negotiations would end on 31 October 1983. The minister of labor praised the good spirit shown by the executive office and its good intentions and cooperation, and he suggested that the negotiations should end 3 days from the date of this meeting (27 October 1983). He proposed that an evening session be held on the same day.

5. This evening session was held under the chairmanship of Farraj Hasan, the cabinet advisor for service affairs, with representatives of the doctors' union, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Labor and representatives of the administration. A session was also held on Saturday, 29 October 1983, as an extension of the evening session and attended by all parties, where it was made clear to the doctors' union that these were meetings of a technical committee only, that Mr Farraj was not negotiating on behalf of the minister of health and that the decision of this committee were not binding on the two parties. The minister of health affirmed this to the head of the doctors' union and promised him that he would not enter into new negotiations with him and said that, based on the recommendations of this technical committee, he would enter into an agreement with him written on 31 October 1983.

6. On 2 November 1983, the minister of health met with the executive office, in the presence of Dr Ahmad 'Abd al-'Aziz, the commissioner of the national capital for health affairs.

At this meeting, the minister of health showed the members of the executive office a file containing proposals that he said represented the minimum acceptable to the physicians. The office requested a review of the file's contents, so as to look over their details, but the minister refused to comply with this request. Despite the fact that the minister expressed his conviction that the proposals in his file represented the minimum of the doctors' demands, he also stressed that if he were to sign them the state would then be committed. Perhaps this is the essence of the mandate given to him, but he did not act.

The minister then requested a week in which to reply, either negatively or positively, to the proposals in his file. This shows the contradictory nature of the situation, or rather, more than that. The doctors' union questioned the propriety of handling matters in such a fashion.

It was now clear that the minister of health, in whose hands rested the solution to the doctors' issue, and who was the president's negotiator, was leading the doctors into an impasse.

The Executive Office of the Sudanese Physicians' Union, after all the consideration, judgement, deliberation and responsibility, the resorting to all the political and executive agencies of the government, and its absolute cooperation and good intentions with the minister of health, despite his multiple positions that we will make clear to you, God willing, at the appropriate time, put all the facts before the doctors and put the responsibility for the consequences of this dangerous position on the one who blocked the path to a solution to the doctors' problem and who refused to enter into a political dialogue. The Executive Office saluted the rank and file of doctors for their confidence in it and for their adherence and commitment to its decisions and guidance. It also praised the doctors' self-discipline, which they demonstrated in past difficult circumstances, and who are still steadfast in their adherence to their rights and in their willingness to make any sacrifice to achieve them.

In view of these facts, the Sudanese Physicians' Union called for an open strike until the governmental authorities complied with the union's demands. However, the armed incidents that occurred in southern Sudan, with its hundreds of victims, forced the union to partially change the strike, so that physicians in southern Sudan were permitted to practice their profession for humanitarian reasons, and in order to treat those wounded in the military operations in the south.

With regard to northern Sudan, the doctors decided to continue the strike and not practice their profession, except in emergency situations, and those which might stem from the fighting in the south.

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CSO: 4504/188

## BRIEFS

EGYPTIAN-SUDANESE NEWSPAPER ESTABLISHED--Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi, deputy prime minister and minister of education and scientific research, left Cairo today to chair a meeting of the Committee of Services for Integration between Egypt and Sudan to be held in Sudan Hall in Khartoum beginning tomorrow. Participating in the meetings will be Safwat al-Sharif, the minister of information, Dr Ibrahim Badran, head of the Academy of Scientific Research, Dr Hasan Hamdi, president of the University of Cairo, and representatives of the ministries of Culture, Religious Trusts and Social Affairs. The committee will discuss the strategy of integration in the field of information, education and scientific research. It will also discuss the accomplishments that have been made with respect to Nile Valley broadcasting and the publication of an Egyptian-Sudanese newspaper as an expression of integration. [Text] [Cairo MAYU in Arabic 9 Jan 84 p 1] 7005

NEW TAXES FOR SUDANESE EXPATRIATES--The Sudanese ambassador in Saudi Arabia, 'Isa Mustafa Salamah, has reported that the financial actions taken to meet the defense of the faith and the nation, and especially the changes in taxation of Sudanese expatriates, include the following: The change in the categories of taxes for expatriates is \$200, \$450, and \$2000 respectively. With regard to workers, it is the equivalent of 1080 Saudi riyals, and for officials it is 1610 Saudi riyals. This category includes professionals and businessmen as well. It takes effect on 1 January 1984. A tax valued at \$250, or the equivalent in convertible currency, has been imposed annually on everyone who borrows from the government or one of its components beginning 1 January 1984. A tax valued at 150 Sudanese pounds has been imposed, beginning 1 January 1984, on everyone assigned from government agencies to the private sector or public companies. Jihad bonds have been created and offered for efforts and to companies doing business with the taxing agency. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic No 784, 23 Jan 84 p 57] 7005

CSO: 4504/188

ECWA ESTABLISHES ARAB CRIME-FIGHTING INSTITUTE

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 17 Dec 83 p 6

[Article by 'Adil al-'Ardawi: "Establishment of Regional Arab Crime-Fighting Institute Determined at Conclusion of ECWA's Preparatory Crime-Fighting Conference; Decisions and Recommendations on Crime Prevention and Treatment of Criminals in West Asian Countries"]

[Text] The regional meeting for west Asian countries on crime prevention and the treatment of criminals was held in Baghdad for a period of 4 days. The meeting was held in the Baghdad office of the UN Economic Committee for West Asia [ECWA]. Fifty delegates representing Iraq, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Palestine, Qatar, Kuwait, the Yemen Arab Republic and South Yemen participated in that meeting. In addition, the meeting was attended by representatives of organizations that are jointly run by governments and non-governmental organizations.

This is the last preparatory meeting in a series of regional and preparatory meetings that are being held for the Seventh UN Conference on Crime Prevention and the Treatment of Criminals which will be held early in 1985. It is also considered the first meeting of its kind to be held in a west Asian country. Participants at the meeting discussed the main interests, priorities and objectives of policies that are being pursued to prevent crime and establish social justice in the countries of west Asia. In addition, participants at this meeting discussed the agenda for the coming seventh conference. They also discussed what is offered by joint meetings of experts in the year 1984. Numerous specific problems that are on the conference agenda will be discussed at these meetings to facilitate final arrangements that are being made for the forementioned international conference.

To find out more about what happened at the meeting AL-JUMHURIYAH interviewed Mr 'Abd-al-Razzaq Mubarak, Iraq's attorney general. Mr Mubarak was elected unanimously chairman of the conference. He spoke to us about that conference and said:

"The purpose of these regional meetings that are convened by the United Nations Organization, is to make the final preparations for the Seventh UN Conference on Crime Prevention in the World which is to be held in 1985. The meeting that was held in Baghdad was the last one of these preparatory meetings, and it was supervised by the Economic Community for West Asia (ECWA) with the cooperation of Iraq's Ministry of Justice. Participants at the meeting discussed in detail

subjects that have been proposed for discussion at the seventh conference. These are very important subjects for the achievement of justice and prevention of crime in the context of the economic and social development that is taking place in countries of the world. The conference will study the reasons for such questions; it will find radical solutions for them; it will strive for the achievement of a better life for people; and it will strive to achieve the objectives of the new international economic order.

"Five [sic] vital subjects were discussed. These are: 'New Dimensions for the Prevention of Crime and Criminal Behavior in the Course of Development;' 'Challenges of the Future;' 'Criminal Justice Procedures and Their Perspectives in a Changing World;' 'Victims of Crime;' 'Youth, Crime and Justice;' and 'The Formulation and Application of UN Standards and Rules of Criminal Law.' In addition, a supplement on the project of guidance principles for crime prevention and the achievement of criminal justice in the context of development and on the establishment of a new international economic order was discussed."

[Question] What contributions did the Iraqi delegation make at that meeting?

[Answer] The Iraqi delegation made clear and extensive contributions. The president and members of the Iraqi delegation added to the studies that were presented at the meeting numerous ideas and alternative suggestions and corrections that added to and enriched discussions. The meeting was a good opportunity for members of the Iraqi delegation to present Iraq's major accomplishments in reforming the legal system in the country. They presented the law that was enacted for the protection of minors which took into consideration looking after minors and providing necessary guarantees for their future life and their protection from crime. The Iraqi delegation talked about new measures and laws that were issued in the days of the glorious 17th of July Revolution. The aim of these measures and laws was to achieve justice for the struggling people of our country. The Iraqi delegation was comprised of numerous judges and legal, criminal and correction specialists representing the ministries of justice, the interior, labor, social affairs and other institutions.

The meeting concluded by issuing a comprehensive draft report in 95 sections. The report made numerous recommendations that would be required to implement all the proposals and the sections that were proposed on the agenda of the coming 7th UN Conference on Crime Prevention and the Treatment of Criminals.

The recommendations also included a draft resolution establishing an Arab, regional institute to fight crime. That institute is to be subordinate to the United Nations Organization. The recommendation was made because the region needs such an institute, a counterpart of which can be found in areas of Europe and Latin America. A short time ago it was also suggested that such an institute be established in Africa.

The idea for establishing the institute is being proposed to coordinate activities and formulate policies to forestall negative phenomena that accompany growth and development operations in West Asia, such as smuggling drugs, crimes against property and juvenile delinquency. The institute will specialize in research that will analyze trends in crime; study the reasons for crime and the changing modes of crime; look into effective policies to prevent crime; and prepare accurate, scientific and documented statistics in this vital area.

Also among the functions of the institute will be that of training police officers, people who oversee the application of the law and judges who formulate laws. This training will help put into application effective policies in each country, and these policies will improve the agencies of criminal justice and the treatment of criminals. These policies will also prevent the increase of crime, particularly those new kinds of crime.

This specialized institute will help numerous countries that are members of the organization coordinate their crime-fighting activities, control crime and prevent crime from spreading. The institute will provide the necessary protection and assurance for citizens of these countries. This is what UN programs are after in this regard. The meeting recommended that the UN secretary general take the necessary measures and steps, with the cooperation of the Arab League, to establish this institute that is being hoped for.

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CSO: 4404/313

## HEALTH PROJECTS CARRIED OUT IN AL-BASRAH

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 14 Dec 83 p 7

[Article: "Numerous Health Projects Completed in al-Basrah"]

[Text] Intense efforts are underway in the governorate of al-Basrah to complete numerous health projects whose cost exceeds 11 million dinars.

One of the most notable of these projects is the Children's and Maternity Hospital which costs 9 million dinars. This hospital is considered one of the important projects in this field. The hospital, which has 260 beds, has special wings for children, for pregnant mothers and for obstetrics. In addition, there are wings for gynecology.

The hospital, which is 55 percent complete, will be equipped with advanced devices and equipment. It is hoped that the hospital will be completed by the end of next year.

One of the other projects is that of the health center which costs 1.25 million dinars. This center has been designated for X-ray examinations and treatment. Civil engineering operations on this project have been completed, and operations to furnish it with the necessary equipment are to begin soon.

Work will be completed late next year on the project for the Higher Institute for Health Professionals at a cost of 700,000 dinars. This institute, which is 60 percent complete, has large classrooms, modern laboratories and different departments. Advanced staff personnel needed by the country will graduate from this institute.

Work is also continuing on a warehouses project for drugs, which will be completed next year. These warehouses are in addition to the expansions that were made in health institutions this year at a cost of more than 250,000 dinars.

It is hoped that work on a number of projects will begin sometime next year and that a project to produce medical gases will be one of those projects.

There are indications of significant progress in health activities in the governorate, particularly in the area of preventive and environmental services in the governorate. According to its program, city health officials are continuing



regular and periodic visits to public places in the governorate to ensure that sanitary conditions are being met. The human environment branch is also actively pursuing its work, particularly with regard to the safety of drinking water. This branch is also coordinating its activities with waste disposal agencies to ascertain that sewage disposal operations are sound and to ensure the safety of the environment from pollution produced by laboratory wastes.

There are eight centers providing health services for schools, for mothers and for children. These centers, which are distributed throughout the governorate, are continuing their work enthusiastically to raise the health standards of pupils and students and to provide all services in this area.

One of the indicators [of progress] in health services that stands out is the creation of a number of essential departments in the hospitals of al-Basrah. The creation of these departments was considered a major step forward in providing specialized therapy services to patients. For example, there is a department for cardiovascular surgery, a neurosurgery department, an intensive trauma department and a nuclear diagnostic department. There are X-ray devices, devices for examining blood vessels and a CAT-scan device that has been installed in the teaching hospital. In addition, there are electronic heart-lung machines.

Al-Basrah's hospitals and health centers, which are receiving continuous support from leaders of the party and the Revolution, chief among whom is President Saddam Husayn, will undergo further developments next year in medical furnishings and modern equipment so that health standards in the governorate can be raised and the best of services offered to citizens. This is consistent with the central government's aspirations in that regard.

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## KURDISTAN OFFICIAL DISCUSSES DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 15 Dec 83 p 5

[Interview with Mr Jamal al-Hajj Sharif, Chairman of the Executive Council for the Autonomous Region by Hasan Ahmad al-'Ani: "Our Kurdish People Taught Invaders a Lesson in Iraqi Heroism"]

[Text] The survival of democratic practices at a time of war is unique to Iraq.

Thousands of projects were completed in the area during the years of war.

Fifteen thousand and 900 citizens receive homes and land.

Brave horsemen mounted on Iraqi horses and wielding swords not spears charged the field of battle and fought until they laid claim to the field of battle and subjugated it. It was only the wish and the will of God that enabled them to do this. While this was going on lines of women and men were forming in a most splendid demonstration of democracy. Men and women were going to the polls to choose their representatives in the Legislative Council for the Autonomous Region of Kurdistan.

Iraqis march to war carrying the seeds of good will which they sow wherever they go in the homeland. In the turmoil of combat and amidst the loss of lives that had been solemnly pledged for victory, they do not forget that the palm which guards the banks of Shatt al-'Arab and the walnut or oak tree which keeps watch over the mountains of Kurdistan must be irrigated. The sounds of children's laughter will not be heard nor will the tresses of women cherished by Iraqis grow except in the shadow of the palm and the oak whose branches and leaves spread and grow freely, as they reach for the skies. This is the unique Iraqi condition. It is a condition in which tools, looms and machines run harder, faster and with more power the more and the longer the minds of the ruling junta in Iran sound the drums of war.

The hustle and bustle of life that is being seen around the banks of the Euphrates, the bridges of Baghdad and the lakes of Maysan is inspired by the spirit of combat and the climate of heroic battles. This is also what is being seen in the summer resorts of Dahuk, the factories of al-Sulaymaniyah and the fortress of Irbil.

Do we have a right to begin relating events at the end? Let 1983 be the year we choose to begin our narrative. That was the year when representatives of the Kurdish people in the Legislative Council met in their first session and when the new Executive Council for this new stage was reorganized. Together with Mr Jamal al-Hajj al-Sharif, chairman of the Legislative Council for the Autonomous Region we will pause to point out more than one angle and paint more than one picture of this human monument to development and civilization which has become one of the obvious advantages of life there. We will do this in an interview we had with Mr al-Sharif. The text of the interview follows:

#### New Prospects and Tasks

[Question] There is no doubt that attempts are being made by the new session of the Legislative Council for the Autonomous Region and the new Executive Council to embark upon and realize new prospects and tasks, especially since the Iranian regime has run out of patience and has publicly revealed all its aggressive and expansionist intentions against Iraq.

[Answer] One certainly cannot separate talking about the present stage, many of whose characteristics are manifested in the new legislative organization, from talking about the past stage and the nature of the tasks that were entrusted to it. This is normal when we look at this matter in a more learned and a more precise manner. That is, this is normal when we see the organizations that represent the Kurdish masses in terms of a series of building blocks that are simultaneously continuous and developing.

On this basis I am quite confident when I say that the council's previous session was distinguished by activity and constant effort. The council covered in particular the tasks of the stage, one of whose most salient features was the struggle with the malicious Iranian regime. The birth of the committee of Saddam's Qadisiyah rallied the people and mobilized society.

Despite the magnitude and importance of this activity, efforts to counter it were concentrated elsewhere. We devoted considerable attention to major projects. For that purpose a special follow-up committee was formed in the office of the chairman of the Executive Council. Its function was to find out how development projects in the area were progressing and, after due consideration, surmount and overcome these obstacles.

Hence, the immediate tasks that have also been placed on our shoulders for the future dictate that we strengthen the positive course and highlight those points which the previous session of the council was able to consolidate to offset [those tasks of] studying stoppages, drawbacks and failures in a serious attempt to remedy them. We are not to forget the subject of war, particularly since the 4th year of the war began a few months ago. Most of our activity has to be devoted to the war effort, but we must certainly maintain other activities such as development projects. We must also keep our minds on our work in the departments of Kurdistan; we must prepare the budget; and we must help prepare the course of the investment plan.

## Tasks in the Time of War

[Question] Is it possible to indicate briefly what is being done in the war area and the nature of the tasks that are being assumed by the Council?

[Answer] Reference has already been made to the birth of a special committee for that purpose. This committee has a representative from each department in the Autonomous Region, and it is chaired by the secretary general for culture and youth. It is the function of the committee to mobilize the masses and to give them a true picture of all the social, economic and cultural positions and decisions made by the political leaders of the party and the Revolution. This committee also holds debates in villages and cities on a continuing basis to clarify the nature of the battle and its implications. In addition, the committee examines health institutions and surveys the families of those who died in action, those who have been captured and those who are missing in action. It visits the front, and it engages in other activities that have to do with this field. It must be said that the committee's actions did not impede the role of the council which conducted several different field group tours for people to rally the public. The council also held a number of debates for those who are affiliated with the state and for citizens. The debates had to do with setting the right course for consumption and increasing production and volunteerism. In addition, we continue to visit the front, and we continue to find out about the high morale and the extraordinary heroism that are being recorded there by our daring soldiers and brave warriors.

## The War, Elections and Democracy

[Question] With your permission, Mr Chairman, let's go back to the matter of the elections. It is known that elections were held at a time when Iraq was involved in a fierce war and was warding off an evil attack. This simultaneity of war and elections is very significant. We would like you to shed some light on that.

[Answer] There is a primary fact that we must call attention to. That fact is that no damages would have been suffered if the elections had been postponed. And postponing the elections would have been justifiable because of the nature of war. However, leaders of the party and the Revolution were intent on not allowing these objective conditions--that is, the war--to delay those principles of life whose consolidation was being given every care. Chief among those principles was that of consolidating the course of democracy and democratic practice, since this principle is considered one of the principal conditions for the development of the new Iraqi citizen.

If the leaders had treated the elections in a traditional manner, as is usually the case in a country or in countries at war, delaying or stopping all democratic activities and practices, such treatment would have been considered conventional. However, the Iraqi experience and the Iraqi establishment were never subject to such modes. The Iraqi experience is a distinguished and separate entity that accordingly generates distinguished methods of operation in all activities of life. On that basis elections were held in Kurdistan as scheduled, and the Kurdish people exercised their statutory right to choose their representatives.

## An Authentic National Position

[Question] The Iranian regime has been rejecting peace initiatives, insisting on "testing" its military options. The attack on (Banjawin) was one of the most malicious offensives launched by that regime. How do you explain this, and what is the attitude of our Kurdish people toward such wicked aggression?

[Answer] You've asked me more than one question here; therefore, I will try to answer you in general terms. First, it can be said that the Iraq of 17-30 July was the new situation that was presenting itself to the international community as a distinguished fact of struggle before Khomeyni's junta seized power. The basic implication of this new fact was that Iraq was the center from which revolution would radiate to liberation and revolutionary movements in the world and in Third World countries in particular. This was upsetting all the considerations of imperialists and Zionists who were forced to yield to the shining Iraqi condition after their malicious and repeated attempts against Iraq failed.

This historical background illustrates in our view the latent reasons behind the fact that imperialists and Zionists are betting on the Khomeyni regime as the front and the tool that would hurt Iraq and conspire against it. It is only from this perspective that we can understand the declaration of the aggressive war against Iraq. The war may also be understood as the facade for a series of continuous conspiracies that began certainly before 4 September 1980.

The military option was based on that; it was supported by imperialists and Zionists and implemented by Iranians. However, the failure of that option in the face of Iraq's steadfastness and the uncommon valor of our bold warriors brought all the plans face to face with a more critical and a more complex condition. Therefore, the Iranian regime has been insisting on rejecting all peaceful positions and initiatives that were begun by Iraq from its position as victor. Iran rejected all peace initiatives that were called for by Arab, Islamic and international parties. It rejected individual and group initiatives. I am saying that Iran's rejection of attempts that were being made to bring about peace constituted a desperate attempt in the context of a dream to realize the aggressive implications of the imperialist-Zionist-Iranian plan. In addition, the military failure of Khomeyni's regime has created a major dilemma for the regime with its people who are suffering from the burdens of war, hunger, unemployment and death. Thus, at the same time, the continuation of the war is nothing but a desperate attempt on the part of the Khomeyni regime to prolong its life for a few days or months.

As far as the battles of (Panjwin) and before them the battles of Hajj 'Umran are concerned, we must be aware of the fact that Khomeyni had stressed an unequivocally hostile position against the people and the land of Iraq. He made no distinction between the two. The decisive battles of (Banjawin) and Hajj 'Umran were part of attempts that were made against al-Basrah, Maysan, Mandali and Khanaqin. Before that the Iranian regime had tried its luck in Baghdad when the battles began by using its air force. There is an important indication here: inasmuch as Khomeyni is hostile to Iraqis, who are made up of Arabs, Kurds and other ethnic groups, he thought that our Kurdish people could be pigeonholed and placed in foxholes so that it would be easy for him to carry out his aggressive objectives. Although the symbols of the backward Iranian regime and those who map

out its policy were surprised by the position of our Kurdish people, the people of Iraq were not surprised when our Kurdish heroes and their horsemen, soldiers and warriors resisted the aggression. Along with their comrades in arms in our brave and daring armed forces they put up a daring and most splendid fight in a fierce battle. It is certain that the devoted Kurdish people who were killed in action, who earned badges of courage, who volunteered by the thousands to fight the enemy and who contributed funds, gold and blood are the numerous tributaries that issue from the one source which we regard as the practical response to all the false accusations of the Iranian regime and its stupid aggressive logic.

#### A Sequence of Principles for Progress in the Area

[Question] We thank the chairman of the Executive Council for enlightening us. We wish to shift from the subject of war to other subjects. Let us begin by asking first about budget appropriations under war for the Autonomous Region.

[Answer] There is an important fact that must be mentioned. The budget for the Autonomous Region was not affected at all by the war. Appropriations were maintained at their regular level. In fact, what is more important is the fact that funds earmarked for the budget in the years of war exceeded previous appropriations in ordinary years. This ground-breaking situation that was adopted by leaders of the party and the Revolution is one that comes in a sequence of general principles which are being adopted to bring about progress in the autonomous region of Kurdistan and to make the constructive state in the area a permanent one.

[Question] Talking about construction brings up a question about construction activity and the projects that the region has seen and is seeing.

[Answer] In this case reference must be made to the role of the principal committees which, with directions from President Saddam Husayn, surveyed the governors of the autonomous region, found out what the citizens needed and provided the necessary services for them. In addition, the Committee for the Affairs of the North of the Revolutionary Command Council played a role in this field, carrying out continuous follow-up activities and earmarking large sums of money to areas that would improve material conditions in the region.

There are two kinds of projects. Projects of the first kind are being implemented under orders from the president. Projects of the second kind are those for which funds were earmarked. In 1983, and we are now in the 4th year of the war, 35 projects have been completed and 103 projects are about to be completed. The total of 138 projects represents only private projects that are headed by the Executive Council. In other words, this does not include thousands of other projects--and I am underscoring the word, thousands--that have been completed or that are about to be completed. Projects implemented during the years of the war only were projects implemented under orders from the president or projects that had to do with the ministries and the various institutions of the central government. Consideration was given in those projects to the principle of considered distribution between administrative organizations, on the one hand, and the principle of development and services projects, on the other hand. This includes taking into consideration the material facts of the region regarding tourism and summer vacations. It must be emphasized in this regard that all important and

vital projects that were determined before the war or that were determined during the years of the war have actually been begun and most of them have been completed. Work is underway to complete the rest, and our plan continues in this direction.

#### Interest in Housing Projects

[Question] There is no doubt that housing and providing housing or land for homes to citizens is considered one of the major tasks for the council. What has been achieved in that field?

[Answer] You know that leaders of the party and the Revolution are giving this matter considerable attention. On his part the president is very concerned about the fact that every Iraqi citizen should have a suitable dwelling, one that would be appropriate for the new life whose ideas and spiritual and material values Iraq is trying to consolidate.

If actual figures have to be cited, I would like to say that in addition to building and providing hundreds or rather thousands of homes and apartments and distributing them to citizens, we distributed in 1983 alone 2,249 lots of land for residential purposes in the governorate of Irbil, compared with 2,000 lots in the governorate of al-Sulaymaniyah. The total number of lots of land distributed in the governorate of Dahuk for the same year was 920. Land was distributed to military men of all ranks, to people affiliated with internal security forces and to workers, employees and other citizens affiliated with various government organizations and departments.

This activity has not stopped. There are 10,731 lots of land for residential purposes that have been or are being classified now. These lots will be distributed in 1984 in the three governorates of course.

A careful look at this map indicates that in only 2 years 15,900 families became owners of land to be used for residential purposes. This takes into account the previous years and also the efforts that were made by the public departments that are concerned with housing projects and the construction of apartments. There is no doubt that these numerous residential options are continuing to grow in the context of public projects and housing plans in the area so as to achieve in practical terms what we have been aspiring for: to provide housing for every citizen.

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MAKEUP, PLATFORMS OF VARIOUS ANTI-GOVERNMENT PARTIES REVIEWED

Secular Opposition Reviewed, Catalogued

Nicosia AL-NASHRAH in Arabic No 1, 31 Oct 83 pp 24-27

[Text] Starting with its first issue, and in all its coming issues, AL-NASHRAH will be offering a comprehensive review of the opposition movements in different individual countries, in the form of a general picture from which it will subsequently be possible to proceed to monitor all developments and details as they suddenly crop up.

It is a circulating file on the perspective of the opposition, presenting each opposition party and organization and its symbols who play fundamental roles in its progress, a file which will implant in people's minds the bases from which we can set out toward an understanding of the news of a given organization, since it will provide us with the ideological and organizational principles it is necessary to know in their broad framework.

In this issue, we will deal with the opposition in Jordan. The file will confine itself to left-wing parties and organizations, in the hopes that the subject will be rounded out by a comprehensive view of the religious parties in our coming issues.

When talking about political movements in Jordan, it is not possible to ignore a historic fact which has accompanied these movements and formed them, or helped form them, that is, the Palestinian cause. The earliest manifestations of Jordanian political activity gave special attention to the situation in Palestine, from early on in this century.

Dual Activity

With the subsequent developments in Palestine, especially the withdrawal of British mandate forces after the presence of the colonialist Zionist movement had taken root in a number of locations and territories the British had controlled, and this movement chose to declare its Zionist political entity on the eve of the British withdrawal, the first Arab-Israeli war broke out.



Its bitter fruit was the loss of the major part of Palestine and the annexation of the areas of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip to Jordan and Egypt. With the declaration of the establishment of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on Jordanian and Palestinian soil, more advanced and developed forms of opposition political activity started in this new kingdom, in resistance to the authorities.

The merger which occurred between the Jordanian and Palestinian opposition political forces was an objective reflection of the condition of life. The Palestinian concern and Palestinian symbols dominated these opposition movements, whether they were of a nationalist, marxist or religious orientation. The situation remained like that until the departure of the forces of the Palestinian revolution in 1971 after the fighting which erupted between the forces of the revolution and the Jordanian army, following a number of battles the Jordanian authorities had waged against the Palestinian military presence.

One can say that the rift in the Jordanian Communist Party, the strongest party and the one with deepest roots among the forces remaining in 1970, was caused by positions on Palestinian military action and methods of armed struggle, after the tendency which supported this attitude within the party had backed the establishment of the "forces of the partisans," the armed organization that the Jordanian Communist Party had brought to the fore and out of which a rift had developed. The other party to this rift, bearing the name "Jordanian Communist Party -- Leninist Staff," was opposed to this approach. After 1971, Jordan prepared for the birth of a number of opposition political forces with radical tendencies.

#### New Forces

The foregoing is perhaps not to deny that the interconnected political action between Jordanian and Palestinian watchwords and programs continued to be present in Jordan; however, its intensity declined, and the features of the loosening of the connection between these watchwords and tasks appeared, especially after the Arab summit conference in Rabat in 1974 which stressed and determined that the representation of the Palestinian people on the occupied territories, in Jordan and in the areas of the diaspora, including Jordan, where the proportion of Palestinians comes to 40 percent of the population, would lie with the Palestine Liberation Organization, when the organization itself became the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

What, now, is the map of the opposition political forces in Jordan?

One can say that the opposition political forces operating inside Jordan, aside from the organizations of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, which is to be found in both Damascus and Baghdad, the organization of the FATAH movement in Jordan, and the religious forces, one of which is known for resistance to the regime, that is, the Islamic Liberation Party, are as follows:

The Jordanian Communist Party, the Jordanian Communist Party -- Bloc, the Jordanian Communist Party -- Leninist Staff, the Jordanian People's

Movement, the Jordanian Revolutionary People's Party, the People's March Committees in Jordan, the Organization of the Democratic Front in Jordan (MAJD), the People's Front Organization in Jordan, and other resistance organizations such as the Front for the Palestinian People's Struggle in Jordan and the Palestinian Liberation Front. There also is a group belonging to the Palestinian Communist Workers' Party, most of whose personnel are in prison.

#### The Jordanian Communist Party

Its nucleus, the "Group of National Liberation in Palestine," was established in 1943; later, after the annexation of the West Bank to Jordan, it was united with Jordanian marxist circles and they formed the Jordanian Communist Party.

The party played a prominent role in Jordan in the mid-fifties, and three of its deputies won in the 1956 elections, including the current secretary general of the party, Fa'iq Warrad.

Among the most prominent leaders of the party, also, are Dr Ya'qub Zayyadin, a Jordanian, and Ishaq al-Khatib and 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-'Ati, Palestinians.

Following the loss of the West Bank and the developments which occurred in the context of the affirmation of the legitimacy of the PLO as a representative of the Palestinian people, the party formed the Communist-Palestinian organization on the West Bank. That later became independent in the name of the Communist-Palestinian Party, not wholly to the satisfaction of the party in Jordan.

The party has a monthly publication titled AL-JAMAHIR, another, theoretical publication issued irregularly, titled AL-HAQIQAH, and a labor publication titled AL-'AMIL.

It has handled guerrilla activity as a national phenomenon which must be supported and whose policies must be controlled and protected from extremism! It has not actually taken part in the armed struggle, in spite of its formation of a small armed organization named "al-Ansar," which sides with the Palestinians, as it sides with the Israelis, in their establishment of an independent country. It is totally opposed to any union with the people who have split off from it -- the Staff, then the Bloc.

#### The Communist Party -- the Bloc

This group does not call itself the bloc; rather it is called that to draw a distinction. The bloc is a name the party itself gave it toward the end of 1982, describing it as "a destructive bloc within the party." Heading this group is 'Isa Mudanat, a Jordanian and former member of the political bureau, who had aspired to be Fu'ad Nassar's heir to the secretariat general of the party. Among the other well known names in this group are Musa Quwaydir, the most prominent communist labor leader, and Fayiz Bajali. This group has substantial influence in the regions of al-Karak, Ma'daba, al-Zarqa' and al-Buq'ah, the party's women's organization and the party's extensive

circles in the socialist countries. This bloc has issued only two copies of the publication AL-NASHRAH, appealing for the unity of all communists in Jordan. It is obvious that no broad political or ideological disputes exist with the original party; the issue in dispute concerns organizational conditions which emerged after the death of Fu'ad Nassar in 1976. This group had called for the establishment of two communist parties, one on the West Bank and in the Strip, by name of the Palestinian Communist Party, and another in the name of the Jordanian Communist Party, that is, turning the Palestinian communist organization belonging to the Jordanian Communist Party on the Bank into an independent party.

#### The Communist Party -- the Leninist Staff

This was the first to split off from the Jordanian Communist Party. It did so in December 1971, and subsequently constituted a more right-wing entity in the political context. Its leadership group lost in the elections of the latest expanded meeting, which they attended with the party. They function under the name of the temporary central committee and are currently being led by Rushdi Shahin, a Palestinian, who replaced their first secretary general, Fahmi al-Salfiti, after his death. He was also a Palestinian.

Other leaders of this party are Emily Naffa' and Khalid Hamshawli, husband and wife. This party issues a periodical titled AL-HAQIAH, and another publication is issued by them for the Amman region, AL-TAQADDUM by name.

They of course embrace Marxism-Leninism, and have good relations with Khalid Bakdash, the secretary general of the Syrian Communist Party. Their political motto is the establishment of national democratic rule, but they do not talk about the means for achieving that. The authorities rarely imprison them. The Leninist Staff, for a long period, continued to be opposed to the formula of the sole legitimate representative that the Palestine Liberation Organization had been granted, and their position regarding guerrilla activity all in all is negative. They prefer political dealings on the basis of mutual recognition of the right of the Israelis and Palestinians to live in independent countries in peace.

#### The Revolutionary People's Party

In the wake of the September 1970 events the People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine established this out of a number of its Jordanian and Palestinian leaders and personnel in Jordan, the most prominent of whom was Abu 'Isa (Muhammad 'Isa), who is still a secretary general of the party. He is a Palestinian.

The party has held two conferences and has "traditional" leadership boards, a political bureau and a central committee. It issues a periodical titled SAWT AL-SHA'B. In the recent period, especially following the fourth conference of the People's Front and the approval of a political program that includes a retreat from the front's former positions, relations between the front and the party grew tense. Part of the tense relations was between the front and the Arab Nationalists' Movement under its new name, the Arab Socialist Labor Party, and its new organization, which was based on the

formation of independent central parties in all areas. The party adheres strictly to Marxist-Leninist ideology. The People's Party now has good relations with FATAH -- the Revolutionary Council, which is led by AbL Nidal.

The party's program is based on the same previous, old goals: the total liberation of Palestinian soil, the bringing down of the monarchical regime in Jordan, and Arab unity within the leadership and sovereignty of the thought of the Arab working class. As is well known, a group of the party left it, and has declared enmity toward it: that was headed by Abu Husni, some of whose supporters have remained in Baghdad, which was a previous center for the party's leadership abroad.

#### The MAJD Organization

Since its establishment on 22 February 1969, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (whose secretary general, Jordanian by origin, is Mr Nayif Hawatimah) has been assiduously driving home the fact that it is a Palestinian-Jordanian organization in the political and organizational context and that it is an organization with dual objectives in its struggle, the liberation of Palestine on the one hand and the establishment of a democratic national regime in Jordan.

Like the other forces of the Palestinian revolution, the front has continued to shift its position with the objective of dealing with the state of affairs in Jordan. On the one hand it is preoccupied with its Jordanian role, and on the other it is a prisoner of the fact that it is a Palestinian organization, although it has continued to seek to give concrete form to a political and organizational notion that is able to combine its Palestinian character with its Jordanian ambitions.

After 1974, which witnessed the first comprehensive Arab recognition of the PLO's function as representative of the Palestinian people as a whole and Arab-Palestinian resolutions related to affirmation of the Palestinian people's right to autonomy and the establishment of the independent Palestinian state, the front concluded that it was necessary to form an organization subordinate to it in Jordan which would have relative independence, politically and organizationally, under the name of the Organization of the Democratic Front in Jordan (MAJD). That was toward the end of 1974.

Politically, MAJD is considered to be one of the organizations closest to the Jordanian Communist Party, ideologically and politically. It has totally distanced itself from extremist slogans in political action. It engages in the struggle of union and social activity in the spirit of the communist parties. It has succeeded in creating a tangible presence in this context. In practical terms, it stands in second place, in terms of its weight in the unions, after the Communist Party.

A monthly political magazine is issued by MAJD, clandestinely, by name of TARIQ AL-SHA'B. Periodic publications are also issued by it which deal with affairs in the student and labor sectors, and it tries to drive home the fact that it is a Jordanian organization.

So far it has held no general conference, although it was represented in general conferences of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

#### The People's Front Organization

Until 1977, the People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine preferred that Jordanians working in the People's Front enrolled in the organization of the Jordanian People's Party, which was the Jordanian wing of the Arab Socialist Labor Party (formerly the Arab Nationalists' Movement). The People's Front, in this respect, proceeded from the premise of a political vision whose essence was that the Jordanians had to form their independent organization and that this organization had to have familial ties and lines of communication with the front through the all-embracing national party, the Arab Socialist Labor Party, whose secretary general was Dr George Habbash.

However, differences over political positions and conceptions flared up between the forces of the Socialist Labor Party and the People's Front, which was considered the real leadership of this party and the main element in its financing.

After 1977, the People's Front elected to come back and build up its own Jordanian-Palestinian organization within Jordan, and it withdrew some personnel who had been picked to work in the ranks of the People's Party. It sent some other political personnel to Jordan and formed the new organization, which the People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine 2 years ago authorized be called the People's Front Organization in Jordan, along the lines of the measures taken by the Democratic Front, which is considered to have taken precedence in this field.

The People's Front Organization in Jordan included Jordanians and Palestinians in its ranks and advocated a radical political program, headed by the toppling of the existing regime and the establishment of a national democratic regime. Among the prominent symbols of the People's Front in Jordan were Hamdi Matar, 'Azmi al-Khawaja, Abu 'Isam, member of the front's political bureau, and Ahmad Dahbur. These figures usually come out of prison and go back to it again.

The People's Front Organization in Jordan issues a periodical by name of AL-THAWRAH MUSTAMIRRAH.

#### The Arab Socialist Ba'th Party

The founders of the party's branch in Jordan and Palestine were generally students who were studying in Damascus. Among its earliest pioneers were Amin Shuqayr, Kamal Nasir, 'Abdallah Na'was and 'Abdallah al-Rimawi.

The party was very active in Jordan in the fifties and sent two deputies to parliament in the elections of 1956.

The emergence of a rift in the party started after the Egyptian-Syrian union and 'Abd-al-Nasir's decree dissolving parties. The Jordanian regional secretary, 'Abdallah al-Rimawi, was in favor of the decree.

The disputes between the Syrian regional elements and the national leadership were also reflected in the party in Jordan. There were two tendencies, one supporting the national leadership and another supporting the Syrian regional elements and therefore the 23 February 1966 movement in Syria, which emphasized the ideas of Syrian regionalism and formed a new national leadership.

As is well known, the old national leadership subsequently made its headquarters in Iraq, after the July 1968 coup in Iraq.

A third tendency also arose in Jordan, after the November movement in Syria, which had resolved a critical struggle among the members of the February movement themselves.

However, at the present time, there are two major tendencies of the Ba'th in Jordan, one belonging to Iraq and the other to Syria. Their views coincide on the issues of the struggle in the area; they consider that the solution to the Palestinian problem must be found through the creation of a just solution for all countries in the Middle East, on the basis of non-Marxist socialism.

Among the Ba'thist symbols who are connected to the national leadership in Damascus are Hasan 'Ajaj 'Ubaydat, Jordanian regional secretary, Mahmud al-'Ayitah, member of the national leadership, Ahmad 'Ubaydat, and Muhammad al-Zu'bi, member of the regional command.

Among the most prominent other Ba'thist symbols are Munif al-Razzaz, who is under house arrest in Iraq, because of statements made concerning his agreement with the group that was executed some years ago, Amin Shuqayr, Fayiz Mubayyidin, Isma'il Muhadin, Duway' Muhadin, Husayn al-'Azzam and 'Akif Nuwayran.

### The People's Movement

This emerged in 1976 through the initiative of a group that had been studying in the Jordanian University; later other groups that had been working in the ranks of the resistance, especially FATAH, the People's Front and the Democratic Front, joined it. It also included numerous groups of different ideological persuasions and for a long time it remained within a flexible organizational structure which resulted in constant processes of selection within it.

The movement in a short period attracted broad groups which were most active in northern Jordan and in student circles in Syria particularly. The majority of its members are Jordanians.

Although it has not settled the Marxist-Leninist question as an ideology, its original personnel have agreed on a resolution to this question without announcing it.

Its program is founded on the effort to create a national democratic revolution in Jordan, and that is connected to the link between the struggle for

the local revolution and the struggle against Israel, because of the special organic relationship that links the Hashemite regime in Jordan with the Zionist body in occupied Palestine. It considers that the Israelis are the subject of a major general contradiction, while it views the monarchical regime as the subject of a major special contradiction.

On political settlement, the movement considers that there is no value to any settlement plan and no use embarking on one, pro or con, as long as the balance of power is disrupted in favor of the American-Zionist alliance. For this reason, it rules out any opportunity to establish any independent Palestinian format, on the Bank or elsewhere.

The movement has a periodical publication titled AL-IRADAH AL-SHA'BIYAH and it has issued a study on "production relations and peasant movements in the Jordanian countryside."

One of their well known symbols is Muwaffaq Muhadin, and the late Mahmud al-Rusan was in contact with them.

#### The People's March Committees

This is a new organization; it was formed out of some Jordanian "Salah Jadid groups," and took its well known name from the mass upheaval which occurred in Jordan in March 1978 in the wake of the Zionist invasion of southern Lebanon.

The committees issue a periodical named SAWT AL-URDUNN, whose program is founded on the rejection of all settlement plans, as with the People's Party, and they also call for the overthrow of the royal regime. The committees adopt Marxism-Leninism as their ideology. One of its most prominent personnel is Muhammad al-Habahibah, known as Abu Sultan.

In the context of the Palestinians in Jordan, the committees consider that there are two peoples, and that it is necessary that there be two national movements, one Jordanian and the other Palestinian. The committees take a strict position on what they call the Palestinian right wing in the Palestine Liberation Organization.

#### The Jordanian National Revolutionary Movement

It is also well known that another organization came into being and ended with the death of its leader, Mahmud al-Rusan.

It gave itself the name of the Jordanian National Revolutionary Movement, and was established under the tutelage of FATAH. Its leader was Mahmud al-Rusan, a one-time senior officer in the army who was previously arrested on the charge of preparing for a military coup in the late fifties. He subsequently became a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and from 1970 to 1971 was commander of the liberated territory in northern Jordan by designation of FATAH.

## Organizations of the Resistance

All resistance organizations maintain a political and informational presence in Jordan. The level and magnitude of their presence vary from organization to organization; some organizations, such as the People's Front and the Democratic Front, are distinguished by an effective organizational presence among both peoples.

While the Democratic Front took note of the importance of such a presence early, and established an organization which was known by its name, the MAJD organization, that is, the Organization of the Democratic Front in Jordan, as we pointed out previously, other forces did not give this matter the attention it merited at the time. The People's Front formed the People's Party, which then proceeded to develop a dispute with it and formed its own organization in Jordan.

MAJD puts out a periodical in the name of TARIQ AL-SHA'B, and the People's Front in Jordan issues a periodical by name of AL-THAWRAH MUSTAMIRRAH. The Jordan Affairs Agency of FATAH in Jordan is also active. It joined the protest movement within FATAH and earlier established a center for Jordan studies issuing a periodical by name of AL-URDUNN. It also issues a publication by name of SAWT AL-NIDAL, on the Front for the Palestinian People's Struggle in Jordan, and they all reflect the central positions of these organizations.

Another of the forces that exist in a very limited form is the Palestinian Communist Workers' party; 10 of its members are now under arrest in al-Muhattah prison.

## Independent Forces; Unions

To the above one might add a group of opposition political personalities who do not converge under the banner of any of the abovementioned forces. These personalities, in the wake of al-Sadat's visit to occupied Jerusalem in 1977, formed what is known as the Grouping of Popular Forces in Jordan, which is led by Shaykh 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Sayih. These opposition political figures, most of whom call for the application of the Jordanian constitution, which was proclaimed many years ago, have managed to gain the right of political activity, within specific limits, since the Grouping's political steps have been concentrated on issues of a national character, such as al-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, opposition to Camp David, and partisanship with the Palestinian revolution, issues which the Jordanian authorities do not consider particularly sensitive.

It should be pointed out that the Jordanian regime does not believe in the presence of parties, even parties which want to play the opposition game by lawful, parliamentary means. Indeed, it has not permitted basic figures in its own milieu to form parties in the form the Egyptian President Anwar al-Sadat endorsed. Among these personalities who had called for the formation of parties were the former prime minister Zayd al-Rifa'i, Sa'id al-Tall, the brother of former Jordanian prime minister Wasfi al-Tall, and others. Ideas are still being presented from time to time and political circles exchange



rumors to the effect that the regime might permit the formation of constitutional parties.

The labor and professional unions in Jordan play a prominent role in the process of opposing the regime within legitimate channels. The unions in Jordan have important weight in this context. The regime has always tried to tighten its control over these unions through certain figures who are loyal to it, but has not always reached its desired objective. One can say that the most important body in this field is the League of Jordanian Writers, which has always been controlled by opposition forces.

In Jordan, independent nationalist personalities oppose the regime, but without taking extreme positions toward it. Heading these figures are Nawwaf al-Khurrayshah, one of the prominent personalities of the strong Bani Sakhr bedouin tribe, Ahmad al-Farhan, former prominent member of the Arab Nationalists' Movement, and 'Akif al-Fayiz and Mashhur Hadithah, who have the confidence of the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Yasir 'Arafat.

Large numbers of students who have enrolled in the ranks of these forces and groups, and youth and federal organizations, are active in the Amman and al-Yarmuk Universities. The student struggle in Jordan has attracted the Jordan General Federation of Students and the National Federation of Students of Jordan. The former is composed of a bloc of Palestinian and Jordanian political forces, the most important of which, and the one with the greatest weight and numbers, is the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party. The latter is composed of a coalition, in the form of a front, between the Jordanian Communist Party and the Democratic Front Organization. However, disputes have occurred among the forces that have formed blocs in these two federations, and their activity and work and consequently their political effectiveness have been paralyzed.

#### Frameworks in the Form of Fronts

The Jordanian opposition has not yet unified its ranks in the context of an integrated front, and no such process has ever occurred in Jordan.

What did occur in the past were temporary attempts at coordination or the formation of blocs which rapidly dissolved, as was the case in 1956, when the national forces managed to form the first cabinet drawn from an elected parliament, and in the wake of the June 1967 defeat, when what was known as the National Grouping was established. Numerous attempts after September 1970 to form a "national front" also failed, because of disputes over the nature of the forces taking part, especially the forces of the Palestinian revolution.

In the wake of the March 1978 uprising in Jordan, in the wake of the "Israeli" attack on southern Lebanon and the outbreak of demonstrations of solidarity and support for the guerrillas and Lebanese national forces, the people who had gathered in the headquarters of the professional unions in Amman formed what was known as the secretariat general of the Grouping of Forces of the People, which remained a token body that would meet concerning struggles that did not pertain to Jordan and issue statements regarding them.

Attempts have been made abroad, in Beirut and Damascus, to establish an office to coordinate the activity of the Jordanian and Palestinian working forces in Jordan. These have failed because of the Jordanian forces' insistence on considering themselves the main party and the Palestinian forces' insistence on considering themselves totally concerned, as Jordanian forces, in the matter of the national struggle in Jordan. The failure of these attempts produced two frameworks which did not take the form of fronts and were not stable either, and concurrence was then restricted to coordination alone. The two frameworks are:

1. The five-sided committee, which contains, in its framework, the Communists, the Ba'th, FATAH, the Popular [Front] and the Democratic [Front].
2. The national democratic bloc, which changed its name later to "the parties and forces of the Jordanian national movement." This contains Communists, the Ba'th, the People's Movement, the People's Party and the People's March Committees.

#### Organizations of Revolutionary Violence

The stage of political action in Jordan has not yet witnessed the establishment of any organizations calling for armed activity. However, more than one explosion has recently taken place in Jordan, aimed at such sensitive locations as the office of the president of al-Yarmuk University, Dr 'Adnan Badran, the brother of the present prime minister Mudar Badran, and some American commercial offices. The Mu'ab Organization declared its responsibility for the recent operations, which were aimed at some American locations.

This is not the first time in which Mu'ab has declared its responsibility for armed activities that took place in Jordan. It had previously carried out some small operations.

It is highly doubted that this organization, which pursues the approach of military action in political struggle, has an independent existence. It is believed that it is a cover title for a Palestinian force that engages in this type of revolutionary violence.

It is worth noting that this rapid review of the opposition political map in Jordan has not dealt with the religious forces, one element in which, the Islamic Liberation Party, is strongly opposed to the regime. The publication in a coming issue will devote itself to an expanded review of the activity of the religious forces, especially the Islamic Liberation Party, which has substantial weight in Jordan and has branches in more than one Arab capital, especially Cairo.

#### Opposition Views on Terror

Nicosia AL-NASHRAH in Arabic No 6, 12 Dec 83 pp 25-27

[Text] In the period between the latter part of 1974 and the first half of 1975, the Jordanian capital, Amman, experienced the triggering of explosions which had some American organizations as their targets. At that time, a new

organization, called the Arab Communist Organization, declared its responsibility for these operations. That was the end of Jordan's experience with operations of this type, although it had been a stage for similar operations after 1971, following the elimination of the overt military presence of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The Jordanian government, as is well known, directed accusations at the FATAH -- Revolutionary Council movement, at a time when successive statements in the name of an organization called the Arab Brigades Organization were declaring its responsibility for these operations.

AL-NASHRAH has considered it appropriate to poll the parties to the Jordanian national movement and some Palestinian forces concerned with the Jordanian stage on their opinion regarding these operations. It was normal that we should start this poll with the opinion of the FATAH -- Revolutionary Council movement, which is the principal party accused of carrying them out.

The Revolutionary Council: In Favor of Escalating Armed Action

In an Arab capital, AL-NASHRAH directed the following specific question to an official in FATAH --the Revolutionary Council:

"In a statement you made, you gave the Jordanian regime a warning, after you had received information that it had delivered of a number of your comrades to the Zionist enemy. Could one consider the explosions that are being set off now on the Jordanian stage connected to this warning? Put more accurately, what is your connection with these activities? What is your position on them?

The Revolutionary Council answered our question by saying,

"The organization which declared the acts of setting off the explosions is the Arab Revolutionary Brigades Organization, an organization to which we are connected by the strong ties of an alliance which have reached an advanced degree of coordination. We concur in our objectives on most issues, on the ground of common struggle against imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. That has been the case in Jordan, where numerous circumstances and factors have become tightly interwoven, some related to us directly, such as the issue of the prisoners, and some impinging on the circumstances of the Arab-Zionist struggle and monarchical attempts to help push through the American-Zionist plans to liquidate the cause. Therefore we certainly are in favor of these operations, and unless the monarchical regime retreats from its steps and measures, whether they are political ones related to the national cause or repressive ones, we will be in favor of the continuation of these operations and in favor of their escalation. As far as our connection with them goes, our relationship to the Arab Revolutionary Brigades Organization will answer that. On this occasion, we can stress that the initiative the monarchical regime made in handing over a group of our comrades to the authorities of the Zionist enemy represents one of the vilest crimes that have been committed in this stage. We had expected that the powers concerned with speaking for the revolution and nationalism would play their part in condemning this crime, at least, but most unfortunately we have come to

understand that many of the stands taken are more a matter of hypocrisy and political dissimulation than truthfulness, and we have observed that some of the people who have removed the barrier separating the patriotic regimes from the reactionary ones are now looking only through the view of their own interests, even if they conflict with the most elementary national and combative values. Therefore, we consider that what the Arab Revolutionary Brigades Organization has done constitutes the only language for dealing with the reactionary regimes which are drawing up unlimited laws of repression and terrorism for themselves. The people who are fighting in our countries have only their own rifles."

While the Revolutionary Council does not hesitate to declare its warm reception and sympathy with this pattern of operation, the positions of the forces of the national movement in Jordan and some Palestinian forces range from receptivity to condemnation, and reservations.

AL-NASHRAH posed the following specific question to all the parties and organizations active on the Jordanian stage:

What is your interpretation of the widespread acts of setting off explosions that have occurred in Jordan?

Do you believe that they lie within a political context or that they represent isolated individual acts?

What is your position on them, and what are their repercussions on political activity in Jordan?

It received the following answers:

FATAH -- Jordan Affairs: Two Kinds of Explosions

The first response to our questions came from the FATAH -- Jordan Affairs movement, the leadership of the organization within [Jordan], which considers itself directly concerned with these operations.

The response states:

There are two kinds of explosion in Jordan.

1. Acts that are aimed at the regime's repressive organizations and agencies, which are not declared by the regime.

2. Acts that are trumped up by General Intelligence. These are acts which involve areas populated by civilians and passersby. The explosions of the sort the regime made announcements about, in the cities of Amman and al-Zarqa', are the prelude to a new wave of arrests.

The goals: One, to tighten the security grip over the country, as a preventive measure in the face of future political developments between the regime and some PLO leaders and in the context of the confederate solution which the intention is to broach again, that is, in a manner that entails taking

the approach of striking out at the nationalist opposition to this conspiratorial plan and providing the right climate for proceeding to carry it out.

Two, to make the citizen feel that he is facing the same "dangers" that Palestinians in Tripoli face, in a manner that hastens to create a common affinity for the "common solution," the confederate solution, that has been set forth, in its function as their inevitable salvation. That lies within the framework of the creation of the political and psychological preliminaries for pushing the confederation through, as the only compulsory option they face!

Three, to weaken nationalist activity in general and attempt to isolate it from the masses by imparting the character of terrorism to it.

Four, to defuse the ferment arising from the growth of the policy of resistance to settlement plans that have been presented within the ranks of the Palestinian revolution, especially after the recent developments in the FATAH movement.

Five, to guarantee the victory of the authorities' middlemen and agents in the coming union elections in Jordan, under the penalty of arrests, terrorization and abuse of nationalists and the national movement in Jordan.

The situation: If the authorities' objectives are not unmasked and the dimensions of the fabricated explosions are not laid bare, and if the national movement in Jordan does not take the initiative of playing its part in this process, the results will be negative, without a doubt; one must also assert that the operations directed against the regime's agencies and institutions must not be eliminated from the program of the national forces that are fighting against the regime and its conspiratorial role.

Their effects on political activity in Jordan: To weaken the open fringes of national action.

Observation: The number of people in prison in Jordan comes to more than 200.

#### Communists: Fabricated Operations

The Jordanian Communist party replied by stating:

We cannot specifically name the body which is carrying out these acts, that is, in the sense that we do not have proof that it was a given body that carried these acts out.

Whatever that body might be, we do not consider that these acts will lead to positive results on the political level and in the general situation in Jordan.

In the recent period, we have sensed that the authorities, under the pretense of unearthing explosives and booby-trapped cars, have carried out a broad series of arrests, and have increased their security and repressive

measures against citizens several times over. These measures have been crowned with the arbitrary crude measure of preventing citizens from traveling to Syria prior to review by the security bodies and the acquisition of advance permission to do so.

This actual context of the results which the activities have devised has brought us to a state where we believe that the authorities have been the sole beneficiary of these activities, and of their promotion. The authorities are always trying to find preliminary grounds and justifications for attacking the progressive and nationalist forces in Jordan. Another attempt is being made by the authorities to exploit these activities on the political stage, since the Jordanian government has accused Syria of being behind these activities, though it does not have tangible material proof of that, because, if it did have such proof, it would have declared it in its media. The objective in accusing Syria is to be found within the context of the Jordanian regime's attack on Syria and attempt to escalate this attack and justify the hostility toward Syria. One should bear in mind that we know full well that the source of the dispute between the Jordanian regime and Syria is to be found in the context of the plots being hatched against Syria in this region by American imperialism and Arab reaction.

If this belief is correct, the campaign of acts of setting off explosions that is being talked about in Jordan consists of fabricated acts to justify political measures and practices which are in harmony with a scheme that goes deeper than the question of domestic security in Jordan.

#### The Ba'th: Delusion and Fraud

The Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, Jordanian region, responded to AL-NASHRAH's poll after a long political introduction which we have been compelled to abbreviate, stating:

The news the regime's media have presented regarding the discovery of booby-trapped cars and explosive containers and attacks on the authorities' guard posts and organizations in the capital and al-Zarqa', the discovery of bombs and explosives by children, and their defusing by the intelligence security agencies are only methods that the authorities have devised in order to give themselves justifications for launching arrests and house searches, tightening the noose around our Jordanian masses, and increasing the delusion King Husayn personally is subject to in imagining that that will result in deceiving the masses and winning their sympathy. When the regime frankly declares that its borders with the Zionist entity are secure, and its borders with Iraq and Saudi Arabia are also secure, Syria, therefore, is the party that is being accused, the party that is sending and training personnel in laying explosions in Jordan! However, our Jordanian masses quickly exposed that claim and turned the charge at the monarchical agencies themselves, because the regime wants to exploit this atmosphere to launch the broadest campaign of repression and arrests. That is what actually happened when the regime's intelligence arrested dozens of national figures and union leaders in the climate the acts of rigging up the explosions and the discovery of the explosive charges had established.

Our Arab people in Jordan, who have become experienced in the royal regime's struggle since this regime was created and its terrorist authority was founded, know full well how to wreak vengeance on their torturers. The regime, which was created on a basis of repression and terrorism, will not be able to ward off the winds of change, in the context of the circumstances the Arab region is going through, because the nature of the stage of confrontation with American imperialism dictates this anticipated new state of affairs.

The regime's claim that enjoys stable conditions which are to be distinguished from those in the other countries of the region was vain and devoid of perceptible objectivity. All the evidence, from the movement of the Bani Hasan tribes, some acts of setting off explosions which the regime has not made announcements about, and the wave of arrests, to the phosphate workers' strikes, render the regime's claims invalid and present our Arab masses with a single fact, which is that King Husayn and the Jordanian people have been alienated from one another.

#### The People's [Front]: A Farce

The People's Front Organization in Jordan considers that "it is now certain that the recent series of explosions on which announcements were made in Jordan" were for the most part a farce [devised] by the regime's agencies to serve specific political goals, of which the most important are:

1. Preparation to carry out a broad campaign of arrests among the ranks of the national forces in Jordan on the pretext of preserving security and looking for so-called "saboteurs." That actually happened when the authorities launched a broad campaign of arrests which impinged on many forces.
2. Preparation of public opinion in Jordan for the creation of further tension in Jordanian-Syrian relations by laying the responsibility on Syria's shoulders, through these acts.
3. Drawing citizens' attention away from the actual problems the country is facing politically, economically and socially, by inflating the "dangers" that they face from these so-called explosions.

A careful reading of the Jordanian government's statements will underline the truth of the farcical nature of these operations, through the facts that:

1. Most of the explosions were discovered a short time before they exploded. Was that a coincidence, or was it arranged by the authorities themselves?
2. The techniques followed in setting up these explosions were greater than the resources of any forces inside Jordan.
3. The places where these charges were set raise more than one question. They were rarely aimed at government centers. Most of them were directed against areas of mass gatherings, public squares and so forth.

Of course one must not understand from this that everything that has been announced was made up by the regime. We realize that there are groups that believe in this manner of acting, and in acting to that end, but that must not conceal the objective behind the organized campaign the regime's agencies have carried out.

We the People's Front Organization in Jordan, from our standpoint, believe that the proper method for confronting the authorities' policies lies in mass national action, through alliance with the other national forces in the country, for the sake of adjusting the internal balance of power to establish a national democratic regime in the country.

This of course does not rule out violence as a means to that end, but in any event that should not be individual violence, which might inflict harm on our struggle without serving it.

#### MAJD: A Negative Result

The Democratic Front Organization in Jordan does not consider that it is concerned with the first part of the question, and has offered its response to the latter part of the question, by stating:

"We define our position on these operations in the light of the condition of the Jordanian national movement, its forces and its combative development. Therefore, we consider that these acts are not beneficial and are not fruitful at the present time because they have a negative effect on the national movement and its escalating progress in its struggle, since in the light of current circumstances these operations give the authorities a pretext to engage in further repression and to stifle the national forces, which affects their activity. At the same time, these operations will not have an effect on the regime, and their results will be negative."

#### The Communist Party -- Bloc: The Regime Is the Beneficiary

The Jordanian Communist Party -- Bloc considers that these operations are not compatible with the internal situation of the Jordanian national forces, and therefore the regime is the basic beneficiary from them, especially since it has used them as a pretext for pushing through a number of measures (arrest campaigns, restrictions on travel of Jordanians to Syria, and so forth).

#### The People's Party: A Natural Result

The Jordanian Revolutionary People's Party considers that the recent events in Jordan are a natural result of the crisis the regime is going through, whose seeds it has borne since its establishment more than 60 years ago, which has become aggravated in recent years, expressing itself in labor strikes, most prominent of which was the phosphate workers' strike, and proceeding through the movement of the Bani Hasan tribes and the concomitant expression of solidarity of broad segments of Jordanian tribes, as they set out a group of democratic and social demands.



The explosions which have been discussed recently have revealed this regime's fragility and its reactionary class composition, and have lifted the mask from the fraudulent democracy with which it covers its fascistic reality, since it arrested hundreds of Jordanian nationalists on the excuse that they had a connection with the explosions.

#### The People's Movement: An Individual Act

At first, one must state that what has taken place is now well known, in terms of body and goals. There no longer is room to suppose or believe that an organization of this type has come into being or that an existing organization has totally repudiated itself and its former methods of acting.

Information at hand indicates that a Palestinian front which has split off from one of the major Palestinian organizations has been behind that. Some circles have rumored that what went on was in agreement with the plans of some foreign governments!

We should not miss the chance to point out that later bombs, which did not explode and which the authorities discovered before they could explode, were a device on the part of the authorities, by which they tried to dominate the atmosphere that had caused them to lose their fear among the people and intensify the attacks of suppression and persecution and the repression of citizens, and that the device has been exposed.

Since what happened took place in the manner mentioned above, in the context of the exertion of some pressure on the Jordanian authorities, that is assuredly the next thing to isolated individual activity which can be repeated anytime, in the same goals and rules. In general, the repercussions of the events, in the context of political action in Jordan, constitute an issue with two dimensions:

First, that bearing on the two aspects of the same events, the major and secondary aspects. The major aspect involves legitimate fears of a great wave of repression for which the authorities are preparing, while the forces are too weak to sustain that, in the face of an act with limited goals. Then there are numerous questions about their motives.

Second, the relief caused by the jolt to the image of cohesive Jordanian security.

The other dimension is the horizons of military action in Jordan, which one cannot in itself, always learn about in the same way in all circumstances.

It is a method of action whose need and reliance have been defined by existing circumstances and the extent of the preparations of the organization concerned, and the connection of all that to an integrated program for the national democratic revolution and its progression toward upheaval.

## STUDY REPORTS ENGINEER EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 23 Jan 84 p 5

[Article by Shafiq Ahmad: "Number of Engineers in Kingdom Expected To Increase from 4,225 to 13,000 by 1999. Comprehensive Study Reveals Only 94 Female Engineers and 420 Foreign Engineers"]

[Text] There are 4,225 engineers working in Jordan. However, there are estimated to be about 400 other engineers, about whom no information was gathered. The majority of these are working in small organizations that were not counted, are working for themselves, or are recent graduates that have not yet registered with the Engineers Union. Therefore, the total number of engineers working in Jordan at the end of 1982 is estimated at about 4,600.

A study prepared by a working group chaired by Minister of Labor Dr Taysir 'Abd-al-Jabir states that the public sector is believed to be the largest user of engineers. It uses 2,127 engineers, or 50.3 percent of the total included in the study. They are distributed among ministries, government offices, public organizations, universities, and research centers.

Other areas that use engineers include engineering consulting firms, which use 16.4 percent of the total; contracting companies at 15.2 percent; manufacturing companies at 15.8 percent; and other companies at 2.3 percent which include banks, institutes of higher education, hotels, and others.

The average number of engineers working in each part of the public sector is 31.7 percent, in contracting companies it is 3.4 percent, in consulting firms it is 2.8 percent, in manufacturing companies it is 5.7 percent, and in each of the other companies there are four engineers [as published].

The study showed that there were 667 engineers who had not registered with the Engineers Union, or 16 percent of the total. One of the more notable conclusions is that 249 engineers who are not registered with the Engineers Union--that is, more than one-third of the non-registered engineers--work in the public sector. Contracting companies occupy the second [numerical] position in this category with 27 percent of the engineers not being registered with the union. The percentage of non-registered engineers was the highest among the last category of other organizations and companies, reaching 40 percent. Then came contracting companies with 28 percent, then manufacturing companies

with 22 percent. This percentage reached its highest level, 77 percent, with foreign contracting firms.

The study indicated that there are 94 female engineers working in Jordan. Of these, 59 work in the public sector and 29 work in consulting firms. It is clear from this that the profession is still almost completely limited to men, since the percentage of female engineers is only 2.2 percent of the total. The public sector uses about two-thirds of working female engineers and consulting firms use approximately the remaining third. Consulting firms, especially the foreign ones, occupy the first rank in terms of the percentage of female engineers at 4.2 percent. The public sector follows with 2.8 percent.

Concerning the average age of working engineers, the study stated that more than 80 percent are under 40 years old. The percentage of engineers working in Jordan who are over 50 years old is no more than 3 percent. The study showed that engineers in the 20-29 age group tend to work in the public sector and other companies and organizations where there is ample room for recently graduated engineers who have limited experience in the engineering field. Consulting firms tend to use a high percentage of engineers in the 30-39 age group, engineers who have had sufficient work experience. Contracting firms are distinguished by a high percentage of engineers in the 40-49 age group.

The study showed that a high percentage of engineers are in the 40 age group. It also showed that most of the 40 year old engineers work in contracting companies and foreign consulting firms. They represent 43 and 39 percent respectively of the engineers in these two types of companies compared with an overall average of 18 percent.

The study stated that there are 420 foreign and non-Jordanian Arab engineers, or 10 percent of the total number of engineers. Of this group, 179 are Arab engineers, or 43 percent of the non-Jordanian total. There are 241 other foreign engineers. Egyptians represent over two-thirds of the non-Jordanian Arab engineers working in Jordan. The remainder comprise a number of nationalities, the most important being Palestinian, Syrian, Iraqi, Lebanese, Sudanese, and Algerian. British engineers make up the largest group of non-Arab foreigners. There are 63 British engineers, or more than one-fourth of the non-Arab foreign total. They are followed by Chinese engineers, with 23 percent. The study indicates that half of the foreign engineers are British or Chinese, and the other half is comprised of 23 different nationalities.

The public sector and consulting firms use about half of the Arab engineers. The other half is distributed among contracting companies, manufacturing companies, and other companies and organizations. Also, more than half of the foreign engineers work for contracting companies, especially foreign ones. The relative importance of Arab engineers compared with the total is highest in the category of other companies and organizations where it reaches 28 percent, compared with 2.3 percent, 3.9 percent, 5.8 percent, and 5.7 percent in the public sector, contracting companies, consulting firms, and manufacturing companies respectively. The percentage of foreign engineers is 76 percent and 61 percent in contracting companies and foreign consulting firms respectively, compared with 1.3 percent in the public sector.

It is clear from the study that non-Jordanian engineers in the public sector are concentrated in the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Municipal, Rural, and Environmental Affairs, the University of Jordan, Yarmuk University, and Alia Airlines.

The study indicated that in light of the current job market for engineers in Jordan and the Arab states that will accept them, and in light of the reforms in the construction sector currently under way in Jordan, it is useful to estimate the number of engineers that will be registered with the union by the end of the 1980's.

It is clear from the study that electrical engineers registering with the union between 1973 and 1982 recorded the highest annual growth rate, 17.84 percent, while the lowest annual growth rate, 13.57 percent, was recorded in the field of architectural engineering. The annual growth rate for all engineers was 15.99 percent. By using the annual growth rates, it is possible to estimate the number of engineers that will be registered with the union by 1999. It is expected that there will be a total of 30,583 engineers.

In order to confirm the accuracy of this information, the study collected data on students enrolled at the University of Jordan, Yarmuk University, and other universities outside of Jordan. Despite the paucity of precise figures on the number of students who are studying abroad at their own expense, it is possible to verify, using 1982 statistics, that there are 15,388 engineering students. This number will certainly graduate from the engineering colleges in the period extending to the end of 1988, and will certainly join the union. Therefore, there will be 24,723 engineers registered with the union.

The study estimated that the number of engineers registered with the union by the end of 1988 will be, at a minimum, 22,000 and, at a maximum, 25,000. However, the anticipated number of engineers after 1988 depends in general on the economic situation in Jordan, the Arab states, and the countries that will accept Jordanian engineers. It also depends in particular on the job market for engineers and plans for the workforce, including engineers, in Jordan and the Arab countries.

The study stated that the total number of engineers registered with the union in April 1982 was 8,800, while the number of engineers working in Jordan at that time was 4,600. In other words, about 52.3 percent of the total number of engineers registered with the union are working in Jordan.

The study indicated that it is possible to estimate the number of engineers who will be working in Jordan by using two assumptions. The first is that the above-mentioned figure of 52.3 percent will remain constant until the end of 1988. The second is that the 52.3 percent figure will decrease in view of the inability of the Jordanian economy to absorb new engineers at a rate of 2 percent per year. Based on these two assumptions, 11,889 engineers are expected to be working in Jordan by the end of 1988.

## TAX EXEMPTIONS GRANTED FOR INDUSTRIAL PROJECTS

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 25 Jan 84 p 9

[Text] During 1983 the Ministry of Trade and Industry agreed to 20 projects for the economy with an estimated 5,547,000 dinars of invested capital. Tax exemptions were granted amounting to 3,452,000 dinars.

The distribution of these projects among the various industrial sectors was as follows:

The food production sector received eight projects with 47 percent of the invested capital and 40.9 percent of the tax exemptions.

The mining sector received four projects with 10.3 percent of the invested capital and 18.2 percent of the forthcoming exemptions.

The chemical manufacturing sector received three projects with 10 percent of the invested capital and 12.4 percent of the tax exemptions.

The plastics manufacturing sector received two projects with 1.6 percent of the invested capital and 4.7 percent of the tax exemptions.

The lumber manufacturing sector received one project with 5.8 percent of the invested capital and 9.8 percent of the tax exemptions.

The mineral water production sector received two projects with 20.3 percent of the invested capital and 14 percent of the tax exemptions.

Last year 14 projects for the economy with invested capital of 12,049,000 dinars were authorized. Tax exemptions amounting to 2,497,000 dinars were granted.

The hotel and tourist services sector represented the majority of these projects, with five projects and 3,900,000 dinars of invested capital, or 32.3 percent of the total capital invested in the authorized projects. The value of tax exemptions granted was 966,000 dinars, or 36.3 percent [of the total].

The chemical manufacturing sector occupied the second position with four projects, 11.3 percent of the capital, and 23.8 percent of the tax exemptions.

The industrial sector with the smallest share of these projects is the building materials sector, which received one project with 3.3 percent of the invested capital and 5.7 percent of the tax exemptions.

## BRIEFS

VIEWS ON NEW FOREIGN MINISTER--Our testimony of and happiness with the new Jordanian foreign minister His Excellency Tahir al-Masri is biased. First, he is an addicted reader (and critic) of AL-MUSTAQBAL. Second, he is an old friend. But more importantly, he was one of the most qualified and outstanding Arab ambassadors when he served in Madrid, when he came to our "hitching post" in Paris, and when he served recently in London. The slogan "the right man for the right position" applies here with the appointment of Tahir al-Masri as Jordanian foreign minister. He has experienced the Arab cause since his childhood, especially the Palestinian cause through his family in general and through his uncle Hikmat al-Masri in particular. The concern about this issue has gone with him wherever he has traveled among the capitals of the world and he has done his part to make it a concern for the entire world. Few know how instrumental he was in Spain's stance alongside the Arabs, and how his personal friendship with former French President Valerie Giscard d'Estaing affected the French position toward the Arabs. AL-MUSTAQBAL is simultaneously happy and concerned about a friend who is assuming the center of responsibility at this time. We are happy because he is a friend. We are concerned because we fear that his position will remove this friendship, either because he is far away from us, or God forbid, because of different [political] positions. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 360, 14 Jan 84 p 11] 12608

CSO: 4404/288

## SECTARIANISM SEEN HARMFUL TO LOCAL ELECTIONS

## Sectarianism and Tribalism

Kuwait AL-TALI'AH in Arabic No 826, 25 Jan 84 p 9

[Text] It is regrettable that with every election in Kuwait we notice the emergence and escalation of tribal and sectarian practices which reached new heights during the recent city council elections. This epidemic infecting this country more than ever before was not brought on by infectious germs, but rather by willful prodding on the part of certain religious and partisan sides who want to win the elections and attain positions by any means, regardless of any possible disastrous consequences that could tear the country apart and divide the people into sects and factions, and unmindful of ensuring perils, so long as these practices suit their purpose of getting a seat in the People's Assembly or the city council.

In the recent city council elections, these practices manifested themselves clearly and openly in the first, second and fourth districts.

Kuwait seemed as though it were a district in South Africa or Rhodesia where elimination rounds used to be done on the basis of race and color; here, they are done on the basis of doctrinal affiliation.

This phenomenon reached this level only with the advent of religious parties with varied doctrinal affiliations who actually called for fanning the fires of fanaticism, to the extent that these winds effaced the spirit of "Kuwaiti nationalism" and of putting the public interest above all else.

This is not the subject we wish to discuss in this space, although it is a very important one that must be examined not only in this edition but also in future ones as well because of its significance in unveiling and deterring these sides who wish to "Lebanonize" Kuwait bit by bit.

What we want to discuss is the cover-up campaign being waged by some religious parties who habitually persist in trying to justify their actions and to make them seem the right thing to do by giving them false and untrue meanings. This comes through in some published opinions concerning sectarian eliminations in more than one electoral precinct.

Ahmad Baqir, in his article, "Yes to Preliminary Eliminations" (AL-WATAN, 20 January), expressed his support for the primary elections by saying "that is why it was necessary to reduce the number of candidates who had almost the same basic objectives and intellectual precepts, through elimination rounds or primary elections approved by and open to all candidates. This process is followed by all democratic systems of the world so that only a small number of candidates truly representing the country's intellectual and political orientations will make it to the elections."

In another paragraph, he says: "It is wrong to undertake eliminations on a racial basis." In conclusion, he asked God to reward those who undertook the eliminations.

At first, Mr Ahmad Baqir was an activist for the primary elections that were supposed to take place in the fifth precinct, al-Qadisiyah and al-Mansurah, during the recent parliamentary elections. It is not strange that he should want to embrace these eliminations which he wants to compare to the course pursued by parties who follow parliamentary representation.

We believe that Mr Ahmad knows full well that primary elections in democratic countries, such as Great Britain for example, are held by an invitation from the party to a party convention that brings together all the various creeds, sects and races spurred by their patriotism, their party membership card and their political program. Candidates for parliamentary representation are picked on the basis of debates held throughout the convention and in accordance with elections based on such debates.

What took place in Kuwait was not a convention in this manner, as Mr Baqir is trying to portray. Rather, a limited committee selected a number of candidates from among a group of people who espouse the same religious doctrine and not the same ideas as he tried to claim.

All these given facts are overlooked by Mr Ahmad Baqir, who wants to portray recent municipal elections as similar to the elections that take place during the convention of the Conservative Party or the Labor Party or the Liberal Party in Britain. Herein lies the tragedy of justifying what happened in more than one precinct, portraying it as primary elections of a party with clearly-defined features and ideas and not one built on sectarian fanaticism that leads it on the path of dividing this society into doctrinal factions and sects to serve their objectives, as we have already mentioned.

These practices that led to the withdrawal of candidates from any sect were unacceptable because they are a destructive tool that can wreck this society whose practices through the years have been based on national loyalty and renunciation of sectarianism from whatever side it may come. We must fight these practices if we wish to safeguard our unity so that the sectarian wall may not rise to divide the Kuwaiti people into two sides that will be hard to put together again.

We must realize that sectarian fanaticism cannot be countered with similar fanaticism but rather by putting an end to this form of fanaticism regardless



of the source. This calls for much caution and anticipation because many parties cannot move without these "accursed vehicles," even if they lead to moral and material fragmentation. We must silence the voices of evil who want to turn the facts upside down and portray white as black and vice versa. They are part of the misguided initiative for which they strive and by which they operate.

#### Deals and Eliminations

Kuwait AL-TALI'AH in Arabic No 826, 25 Jan 84 pp 16-18

[Article: "Report on City Council Elections; Sectarianism and Tribalism Erode National Unity"]

[Text] Last Thursday morning, 29 January 1984, the results of the city council elections in all ten precincts were announced. There were 44,820 registered voters, 30,509 of whom went to the polls. The average turnout rate was 68.5 percent, with the first precinct showing the highest rate, 78 percent, and the third precinct, the lowest, 54 percent.

As soon as the nomination for the city council membership was opened, 96 persons declared their candidacy, but more than half of them withdrew shortly thereafter, and 48 candidates ran for the 10 seats on the city council.

#### Citizen Interest

Immediately after the announcement of the beginning of city council elections, tents were pitched in various parts of the country and posters were all over intersections. Daily newspapers ran extensive coverage, devoting about one page a day to the elections, and some weekly magazines followed suit. The press had interviews with a large number of citizens and candidates as well.

It was observed that citizen interest in the city council elections fell short of expectations. Viewpoints published in the press attributed this to two factors. The first was the early date for holding the elections this year because past elections were held in the month of June.

The second factor was the lack of citizen interest in city council elections. This view has been expressed by many who perceived an absence of citizen enthusiasm, said to be due to lack of interest in the city council. This listlessness persisted until the final hours leading to the opening of the polls. Elections results, however, showed a good turnout at the polls, 68.5 percent on the average, and up to 78 in some precincts, not a bad percentage all in all.

#### Sectarianism and Tribalism Under Democracy

A close follow-up of pre-election preparations revealed the map of voter distribution. It is generally recognized that in democratic societies, voter distribution is based on the effectiveness of the candidates' programs and their ability to attract voters. What happened in Kuwait, however, was a completely different story. It was evident that there were two kinds of

polarization: one of a doctrinal sectarian nature that prevailed in areas generally regarded as urban. The second was a clannish tribal polarization that prevailed over the outer precincts.

This, to a large extent, cut into the role of citizens and took away the voter's say as well. The fundamental principle in the electoral process is not so much winning this or that seat as it is a period for stimulating democratic freedoms whereby programs are put forth and widely debated so as to give citizens a chance to express their viewpoints and to present their causes, problems and needs. Candidates make a real choice before the citizenry in light of which voters can make their own choice based on their convictions and special vision of who will represent and work for their causes.

In this sense, the period of preparation is a heyday for democracy, inasmuch as it affords the chance to educate people in the importance of the different agencies. However, these basic concepts of the electoral process have been beset with weakness, not to say completely removed from the city council elections. Most of those who expressed their point of view in the press confirmed that the elections took a dangerous turn, represented in the resurgence of clannish, tribal and sectarian loyalties that became the focal point of voter and candidate activity. Some citizens and concerned individuals commented on this phenomenon. Mr Sami al-Nasaf said in AL-QABAS newspaper: "It is a phenomenon that threatens our democracy and our existence with disaster. It is a sectarian phenomenon that serves the sects rather than Kuwait."

Dr Mustafa 'Abbas Ma'rifi commented in AL-WATAN that "It is a farce to exploit a democratic demonstration to sow the seeds of sectarian thought. It is a lamentable irony that a handful of supposedly educated group of young men can determine who will represent several thousand citizens. What is more regrettable and disgraceful is the fact that a number of candidates got carried away by this sectarian tide."

Dr 'Abd-al-Malik al-Tamimi said: "While I was following the city council election campaign and hearing a lot about the candidates' sectarian, clannish and tribal activities, I wondered if this is what democracy is all about."

Dr 'Abdallah al-Nufaysi said: "It has been noted that the current elections have fallen under the influence of a number of unhealthy phenomena, especially the crippling, familial, clannish and tribal phenomena."

The doctrinal sectarian atmosphere was most dominant in the fourth precinct where a bloc of a doctrinal group faced another doctrinal group following the withdrawal of 9 candidates in favor of only one, under the pretext that vote-splitting would lead to the election of a candidate from another sect.

A deal was struck between two religious organizations in two precincts where the [Islamic] brotherhood candidate withdrew in favor of the "al-Salaf" candidate in one precinct while the "al-Salaf" candidate withdrew in favor of the brotherhood candidate in another precinct.

The fact is that no one sect can be held solely responsible for this kind of bloc formation because everyone had a part in it. It is natural that bloc

formation by one group in one precinct should lead to the formation of a bloc by another group, either in the same precinct or in another one. The large scale spread of such a phenomenon leaves destructive, if not immediate effects on the medium and long term levels if some groups were to believe that they scored a sweeping victory by winning one or more seats on the city council. This no doubt will have an effect on social cohesion and close relations, resulting in a deep schism along sectarian and doctrinal lines. All short-sighted elements of the two sects contributed to this phenomenon. Some religious parties feel they must have a political presence in the various locations, hence they exploit sectarian issues and form blocs, playing on sensitivities in this regard, instead of trying to understand the gravity of the people's feelings and to suppress and dissolve such sensitivities. By their behavior, these parties amplify and promote these feelings for the purpose of winning a seat for their candidate with total disregard for the grave consequences threatening national unity should such feelings go unchecked. Therefore, they do not hesitate to do anything to achieve their goal of winning this or that position, such as using their influence to summon a number of candidates by improper means to intimidate them by claiming to represent the whole district or by asking that a committee be formed to evaluate candidates on the premise "they must work hand in hand."

The committee then eliminates 9 candidates in favour of a single one, as was the case in the fourth district.

They also exploited a number of platforms to campaign for the sect's candidate. A mosque preacher asked worshippers to elect "the bearer of religion," and some members of a religious party toured offices carrying the Koran and asking citizens to swear on it that they would vote for a certain candidate.

In addition to religious blocs, there was another kind of bloc: tribal blocs spread out in six of the ten precincts where primary elections were held between candidates of the same tribe to choose only one so as to avoid vote-splitting when running against candidates of other tribes. Tribal bigotry dominant in outer districts came under a considerable amount of criticism and was rejected by most of those at various levels who expressed their views to the press. Citizen 'Abdallah al-Qahtani said: "The worst problem afflicting us in the general elections in Kuwait is the existence of tribal bigotry which is going to ruin everything for us."

Citizen Khalid al-Raqi said: "Tribal bigotry is what got us to this low level of intellectual awareness." He added, "Frankly, we are fed up with the uneducated tribal men."

Citizen 'Abd-al-Latif al-Thuwayni said: "We are still suffering from tribal bigotry which is bound to destroy what man has built. We must not run after tribal bigotry as though we were still living in the middle ages because this tends to destroy us and to put in power unqualified members who place their personal interests and those of their tribe ahead of the public interest."

This is the true image that dominated the pre-election period. That is why there were no programs and the candidates who talked to the press had almost

the same theme: "My goal is to serve Kuwait and defend the public interest." But how and by what means and what is the public interest? All that remained shrouded in secrecy because the candidate who won his tribe's or sect's nomination is not concerned with taking pains to think about citizens' needs and worries or to draw up a program for the people or to listen to their points of view because the rallying and the bloc formation processes do not allow such a candidate to get one single vote outside his bloc. Therefore, there is no need for any programs and no need to find out whether he is worthy of the people's trust.

### Election Results

The results were announced and 10 candidates won, although the wide-spread phenomenon of tribal and sectarian blocs, and all the other blocs in between, lead to a true disaster in the long run and to a deep schism in national unity and social relations that such a disaster entails. This is what prompted some intellectuals and university professors to issue warnings. Dr 'Abd-al-Malik al-Tamimi said: "Running for elections on a tribal and sectarian base brings to mind the Lebanese democracy which was built on the very same foundation and which was democratic in form and feudal and sectarian in essence. The Lebanese experience ended in a crushing civil war which is still going on."

In addition to such a consequence of sectarian blocs, other immediate effects of the blocs prevailed during the elections, the most significant of which was impairing the changes for the young people to enter this battleground, especially in the outer areas. Points of view expressed in the press often complained about this state of affairs where young people do not have the chance to enter this field unless unanimously nominated by the tribe. Moreover, technical qualifications required for this basically technical council have vanished. Its ability to face the tasks entrusted to it will be undermined, and the citizens have lost the bases on which to make elected officials answerable because of the lack of election platforms.

One dangerous aspect under discussion among those who care enough to comment on events surrounding the electoral process is the fear that what happened may be an indirect call for destroying democratic life by undermining its foundation. If the sect or the tribe is going to determine candidates and winners, why not have the executive power, which is more capable of selecting the most qualified and most able to occupy this position, do the picking?

The detrimental consequences notwithstanding, a phenomenon that calls for a certain measure of reassurance emerged from the outcome of the elections. It was the ability of young people in the outer districts to make their way to city council seats in the seventh and ninth precincts. This result is worthy of respect and close consideration by youth in the various districts. We think it will set an encouraging precedent for many young men in meeting their responsibilities and in facing their duties by going after positions they have the right to seek.

The second phenomenon was voter turnout which reached a new percentage that demonstrates the extent of people's awareness in exercising their democratic right. We believe that this percentage will grow in the future and is bound to hold its own against all negative phenomena unveiled by the current experience.

STANDING COMMITTEE STUDY ON MANPOWER NEEDS

Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 9 Jan 84 p 1

[Article: "Council of Ministers Approves New Regulations for Bringing in Labor"]

[Text] The council of ministers yesterday approved the recommendations put forth by the immigration and residency committee concerning the regulation of the labor sector in the field of professional, business, industrial and trade licensing. This was following the approval of the ministerial social, health and education committee in a previous meeting. Following is the text of these recommendations:

First, ministries concerned with licensing professional, business, industrial and trade activities must attach to the licenses they issue a statement defining the kind and size of the required labor force for each activity. The licenser must bring in his labor force through the Ministry of Social Affairs and must sponsor their residence in accordance with special forms prepared by the competent ministry in agreement with the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor.

Second, a standing committee, under the chairmanship of the Ministry of the Interior and composed of the Ministries of Social Affairs and Labor, Trade, Industry, Planning and the Kuwait municipality, shall be formed to determine the size of the labor force needed for various business and trade activities, excluding industrial activities licensed under an economic feasibility study. The committee is to start operation as of 1 January 1984 and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor shall carry on work as usual until that date.

Third, the immigration and residence committee has been delegated to study the country's need for various business licenses, taking into account population density and geographical distribution in various areas, and to propose what licenses must be delegated to the Ministry of Industry and Trade.

Fourth, each licenser shall post a bank guarantee equal to the cost of returning his employees to their country and [the cost] of covering their rights upon termination of their employment. The same workers may be employed in other jobs, either by the same employer or by another employer after the original sponsor relinquishes his right to them. It is up to the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor to draw up necessary regulations for enforcing this article.

Fifth, all competent government agencies shall establish an administrative unit, based on the size of their activities, to oversee and follow up enforcement of Articles 2 and 4, and also to report to the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor anyone who sponsors unlicensed workers so that the ministry may take appropriate punitive action against them. Each government agency shall report in writing to the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor the name of its administrative unit's official in order to control and facilitate liaison between the official and the ministry, whereby direct contact is achieved between the two sides.

12502

CSO: 4404/319

## AFGHANISTAN

### VISITING SWEDISH EXPERT VIEWS WORSENING FOOD SUPPLY SITUATION

Stockholm INTERNATIONELLA STUDIER in Swedish No 1, 1984 pp 8-11

[Article by Katarina Engberg, an editor with the Foreign Policy Institute, who visited guerrilla-held areas in Afghanistan's Kunar province in the spring of 1983]

[Text] A preliminary evaluation of military activities in Afghanistan in 1983 seems to indicate that a military stalemate still prevails. In this deadlocked situation in which neither side can achieve a decisive advantage, other factors, economic, social and political, play a significant role in the Russian possibilities for pacifying Afghanistan and in the ability of the resistance movement--the mujahedin--to hold out. The will of the people to resist is unbroken, but there is great war weariness as a result of the incredible suffering the war has brought to the people of Afghanistan. The war has created the world's biggest refugee catastrophe: 5 out of Afghanistan's 15 million inhabitants have moved to the neighboring countries of Pakistan and Iran, where they are given the basic necessities of life by international aid organizations.

About a year ago alarming reports reached the outside world of a shortage of food in Afghanistan, especially in the areas that lie outside the control of the Russian troops and the government, in other words the rural areas where 70-80 percent of the people live. This means that close to 10 million Afghans spend their everyday lives in the shadow of war, far from the international aid packages that reach the refugee camps and possibly the government-controlled parts of Afghanistan as well.

The war has affected Afghans in varying degrees. In some parts of Afghanistan towns and valleys have been exposed to terrorist bombing attacks and have been abandoned by the population. This is especially true of areas that extend along vital Russian supply lines, such as the highway from Jelalabad via Kabul up to the Russian border. On the other hand, one can find pockets in Afghanistan where the Russians allow trade and farming to flourish in order to guarantee supplies for the capital, Kabul. And there are entire provinces in northern Afghanistan from which reports are very meager, so that we know very little about the supply situation there. The reports of food shortages have come mainly from the so-called Pashtun belt

along the border with Pakistan where the war has been especially intense and from where most of the refugees come.

The food shortage is said to result from the devastation that follows in the wake of every war, but it also stems from the systematic damage done to agriculture by the Soviet troops and the soldiers of the Afghan government. The aim is to undermine the people's support for the resistance movement and to swell the tide of refugees to Pakistan. The mujahedin depend directly on the people for food and shelter. Village mosques often serve as hostels for the mujahedin and each newly-arrived group is provided with food by the people of the village.

It has been difficult to verify individual reports of food shortages, which have reached the outside world primarily through Afghan refugees when they arrive in Pakistan. Last May the first scientific study aimed at clarifying the food and agriculture situation in Afghanistan was published. Azam Gul, a former professor of agronomy at the University of Kabul, along with eight other Afghan academicians in exile, conducted an interview study among 705 Afghan farmers in the refugee camps in Northwest Frontier province and Baluchistan (both provinces in Pakistan). The 705 people made up a geographically representative selection of Afghanistan's agricultural population--72 percent of the entire population. All had left Afghanistan after the 1982 harvest, which was compared in the study with the 1978 harvest, which was the last normal one, and the 1981 harvest. There is an overrepresentation of medium-sized and big landowners in the material. One more reservation should be made to begin with. For natural reasons, the Afghan farm refugees come from the areas most severely affected by the war. Their testimony is probably representative for these areas, but possibly not for the country as a whole. Thus we can assume that the results of the study give a realistic picture of the situation in the parts of Afghanistan that have been most ravaged by the war, but that the figures cannot automatically be taken as valid for all parts of the country.

The results of Azam Gul's study showed that production of the most important crops had declined between 75 and 80 percent from 1978 to 1982. The production decline was especially dramatic between 1981 and 1982, when harvest results were cut in half.

This article is based on Azam Gul's study along with personal observations made in connection with a trip to Afghanistan in late April and early May of last year.

#### Farming Conditions

Afghanistan's hostile nature sets narrow limits for human life. Only 12 percent of the surface of the country can be cultivated and half that amount, around 4 million hectares, was under cultivation in 1978. Almost 3 million hectares required artificial irrigation, which is vitally important for agriculture in Afghanistan, which has very little precipitation. Population concentrations coincide to a large extent with the four major

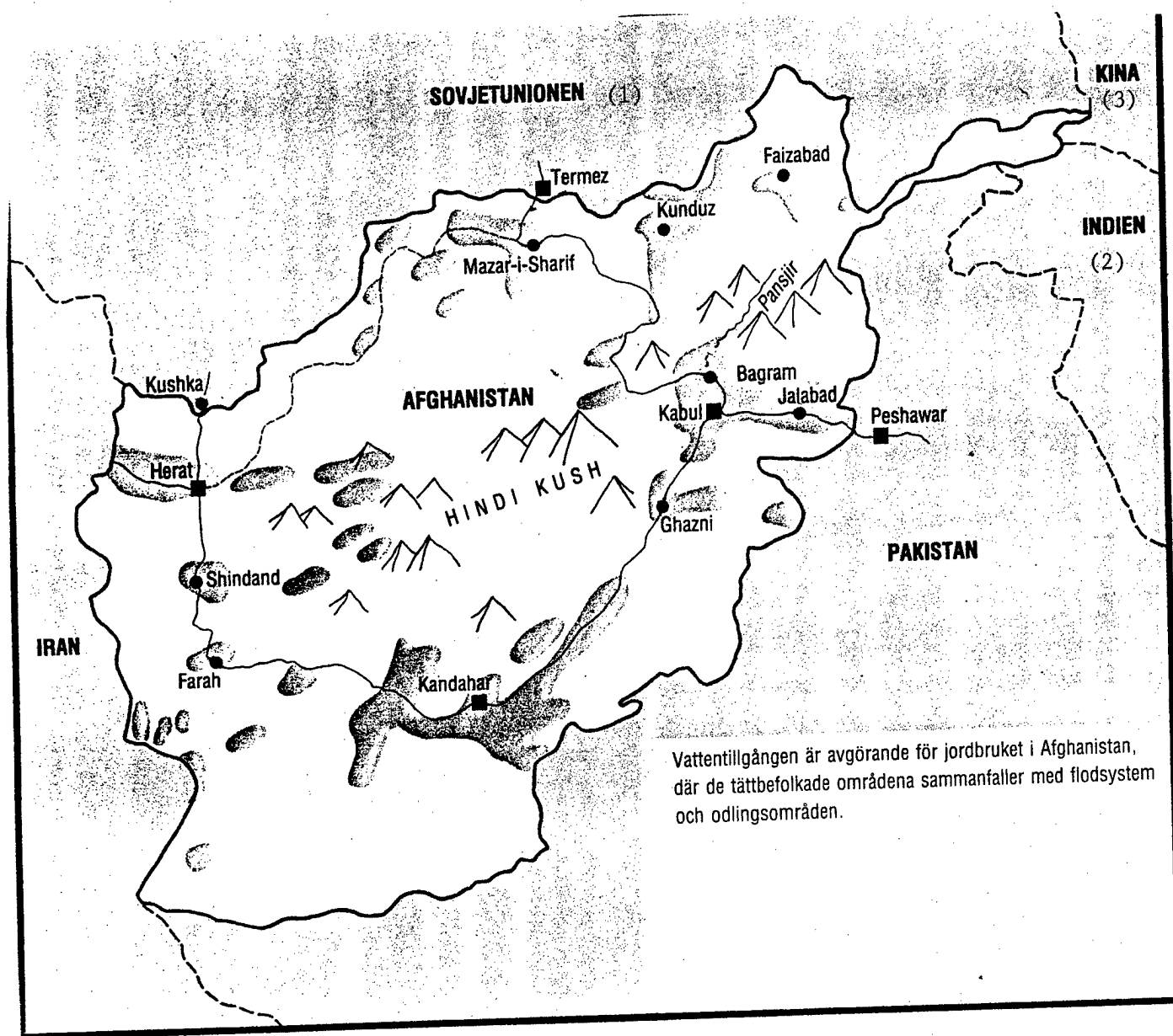


river systems, the Amu Darja, the Hari Rud, the Hilmand-Arghandab and the Kabul River (see map). Of these, only the Kabul River runs out to sea via the Indus. The rivers of Afghanistan get their water from the melting snow and ice masses in the mountains. Winters are harsh and last 4 to 6 months. Most of the water flows into the rivers during a few short spring and summer months, after which much of the river systems dry up.

The fertility of the soil depends on the ability of the farmers to take advantage of the water from the spring floods. With the exception of some modern irrigation systems, mainly along the Hilmand River, irrigation occurs with the help of traditional and ancient methods. A finely-branching system of canals running side by side distributes the water to the usually very small plots of land that are set on terraces in the narrow valleys. Another type of irrigation method consists of the Persian canal system. Ground water is led from higher tracts of land down to the cultivated terrain through underground canals 10-15 meters deep. When the spring floods come they wash out parts of the fine-meshed canal system. By the end of the summer, dirt and mud have blocked parts of the canals again. Intensive labor is required to keep the traditional Afghan irrigation system intact. It must be repaired, dredged, rebuilt at least once for every harvest season, which requires widespread mobilization of masculine labor. Without this investment, the irrigation system deteriorates and the basis for human life is destroyed. This vulnerable ecological system can easily be disturbed even in peacetime. War represents a direct threat to its continued existence.

The flat bread baked from wheat ("nan" in Farsi, "dodai" in Pashtun) is the staple food for the people of Afghanistan. And in 1978 wheat occupied the biggest cultivated area--approximately 2 million hectares. (The statistics cited in Azam Gul's study have been taken from official Afghan sources.) Corn was grown on 480,000 hectares, barley on 317,000 and rice on 206,000. Other important crops of economic importance before the war were cotton, sugar beets, sugar cane, fruit and vegetables. The modernization process that was started in Afghanistan in the early 1960's led to increased agricultural production. The value of agricultural products in the export branch rose from \$171 million in 1975 to \$222 million in 1978. At the same time, imports of agricultural products fell from \$21 million to \$15.3 million. In 1973 Afghanistan was still importing 115,450 tons of wheat while in 1978 the country was self-sufficient in the same product. But the war has made Afghanistan a major importer of wheat once more. In 1982 the Kabul government imported 2,400 tons of wheat from the Soviet Union for the government-controlled areas, primarily the cities.

Raising livestock is vital both for the individual farmer and for the national economy. The hides of karacul sheep and the wool from regular sheep were a cornerstone of Afghan exports before the war. The farmers keep sheep, goats and cattle for the sake of the food they provide. Donkeys, camels and mules are used as a means of transportation and to haul loads.



### Important Cultivation Areas in Afghanistan

Water supplies are vital for agriculture in Afghanistan, where the densely-populated areas coincide with river systems and farming areas.

Key:

- 1. Soviet Union
- 2. India

- 3. China

## Sharp Production Decline

Official Afghan statistics from the period before the war show that about half the area in agricultural units was actually under cultivation. The rest lay waste or was unused because of such things as lack of water. The 705 farmers who were interviewed by Azam Gul and his team said that in 1982 they used only a fifth of their land, on the average. Wheat, for example, which took up 60 percent of the area under cultivation in 1978 took up only 37 percent in 1982. At the same time, crop yields also declined, in the case of wheat to only half of what it was in 1978. In the study, the cultivated areas were multiplied by the yields per unit, providing the picture given below of production declines for some of the most important crops (see table).

The reports are alarming, Azam Gul said in his study, and most alarming is the fact that the rate of production decline rose sharply between 1981 and 1982.

The farmers interviewed gave varied reasons for the production decline: lack of labor, spare parts, seed corn, artificial fertilizer in combination with sharp price increases for these goods, administrative collapse (especially the elimination of credit extension), the implementation of land reform and military actions aimed directly at agriculture.

The shortage of labor was listed as the biggest problem. While in 1978 a farm unit had an average of 4.6 workers, the figure in 1982 had fallen to 2.2. In other words half the labor force had disappeared for the following reasons: 1) Almost a third of the population had fled to Iran or Pakistan; 2) men fled to the hills to avoid the government's forced enlistment of all men capable of bearing arms between the ages of 16 and 45; 3) or else they fled to join the mujahedin; 4) and an unknown number of people had died in the war.

The farmers also said that due to fear of bombing attacks they did not dare mobilize the big work crews required to repair the irrigation system. The farmers were subjected to airplane attacks out in the fields, forcing them to do some of their farm work at night. Among military actions aimed directly at agriculture, the farmers mentioned deliberate bombing of dams and canal systems, burning harvests, strafing livestock from armed helicopters. Anti-personnel plastic mines, the so-called butterfly bombs, are dropped from helicopters over paths and fields, making farm work hazardous (see interview below).

The acute shortage of wheat in particular was very obvious in the area in Kunar province in the Pashtun belt through which I traveled. Down in the valley of the Kunar River (a tributary to the Kabul River), some wheat could be found at prices three times what they were in 1978. Up in the small valleys of the mountains the shortage of wheat was acute and the people complained that they were forced to bake bread with corn. A living testimony

to the people's tight food situation was presented by the lemming tide of men, weighed down by meal sacks, who crossed the border from Pakistan into Afghanistan and from the Kunar Valley up to Hindukush.

A factor that is more difficult to measure although it is equally vital for the food situation, is the development in the livestock situation. There are no statistics on which to base this and what I have written below is based on my own observations in Kunar province. In the small valleys of Hindukush, cows and goats constitute an important part of a farmer's household. The small mountain cattle feed on the natural pastures of the mountainsides. Along with bread, milk and yogurt constitute the basic foods in this part of Afghanistan. The farmers said the war had led to a sharp reduction in the cattle herds. The shortage of grain had forced farmers to kill off their herds. The meat was used for their own consumption or sold in order to buy grain with the money. The farmers also claimed that livestock was deliberately shot to death from the armed helicopters. The risk of bombing attacks made them hesitate to send children out to watch grazing animals.

Table I.

(1) provins	(2) år	(3) vete	(4) ris	(5) majs	(6) potatis	(7) nötkött	(8) fårkött
Kabul	1980	85	160	65	20	490	630
	sep 82	180	270	130	70	700	1 050
	feb 83	245	430	140	55	770	1 190
Maidan	1980	60	170	50	20	420	560
	sep 82	120	260	90	55	700	1 120
Logar	1980	60	160	50	20	420	630
	sep 82	100	260	75	60	560	770
	feb 83	240	430	130	50	630	1 120
Baghlan	1980	60	120	50	15	420	490
	sep 82	160	160	95	20	560	700
	feb 83	225	400	-	60	665	980
Kunduz	1980	60	120	50	20	490	630
	sep 82	160	160	100	50	630	700
	feb 83	220	490	-	75	700	810

Prices given in Afghanis per seer (7.006 kg) in five provinces of Afghanistan during 1980, September 1982 and February 1983. 10 Afghanis = approximately 1 Swedish krona.

Key:

1. Province
2. Year
3. Wheat
4. Rice

5. Corn
6. Potatoes
7. Beef
8. Lamb

The result of the diminished livestock population was that the farmers felt they had exhausted all their resources. They now had no reserves left to dip into in the winter ahead and they feared starvation. They felt they were the victims of a deliberate tactic of economic encirclement on the part of the Soviet troops: "The Russians want to starve us out, so they can avoid sending in their troops and risking the lives of Russian soldiers."

Another result of the war was that it deprived farmers of necessary income from paid labor. Among young farmers there were many who before the war had worked periodically in forestry, the construction industry and on road construction.

The food shortage had sharply driven up prices on the goods that were available. Table I, which shows price developments for some vital foods in a number of provinces in Afghanistan, was compiled by Sayed Hashimi, former director of the lending division of the agricultural bank in Kabul.

#### Conclusions

Azam Gul says that the study he conducted confirms the individual reports of food shortages in Afghanistan. A similar production decline was established for five of the most important crops. The 1982 harvest was only between 20 and 25 percent of the 1978 harvest and this trend was the same over the entire country.

Table II.

<u>Crop</u>	<u>1978</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>
Wheat	100%	38.2%	20.4%
Corn	100	37.4	22.6
Barley	100	41.9	25.7
Rice	100	44.0	25.9
Cotton	100	28.3	12.2

Azam Gul concluded his report with the following words: "If this trend is to be offset, steps must be taken immediately. A political settlement would of course be the final solution to the problem. But until this happens, food, seed corn and artificial fertilizer must be imported for the regions of Afghanistan not reached by government services if the country and its people are to survive."

Azam Gul's study is the first of its kind and its reliability must still be studied and assessed. But it has supplied us with information that points in the same direction as numerous reports from refugees in Pakistan that there is a food shortage in Afghanistan as a result of the economic collapse that followed in the wake of the war and as a result of direct military actions aimed against agriculture. There is reason to believe that this

kind of warfare against the civilian population is deliberate, that it is aimed at eliminating a vital element, in other words at depriving the mujahedin of their support among the people.

But the rural Afghan tribal society has shown signs of a flexibility that has reduced the harmful effects of the war on agriculture. It is reported that the 1983 harvest was saved because the mujahedin laid down their arms for the harvest period. This achieved two things: the other side was given no excuse for reprisal actions against rural villages and the mujahedin had time to help farmers with the harvest. In some cases there was also an unofficial cease-fire between government troops and the mujahedin during the harvest period.

It is part of the conventional wisdom to point out that the Russians think in long-range perspectives. In this respect at least, they may have met their match in the Afghans.

#### War Deprived Him of Many Animals

The following is an interview with farmer Hadji Mullahguri of Kunar province. What he said echoes the words of many other farmers and provides a good summary of the situation in the area visited by the author of the article:

"My family and I are down here from the Kunar Valley. But the situation in the valley is hard. Back in 1978 bombing started in this area, we were the first to rebel after the Saur coup (the coup in 1978 when the communist party seized power). My family and I sought refuge farther up in the mountains. Now I have come down to the Kunar River with those family members who can get around to see if we can harvest anything on our land. I own a little land here, but it is not irrigated, so it doesn't produce much. In the past I used to work on the big estate down by the river. But not now. The landowner is a "khalki" and there is a khalki outpost down there. They know I help the mujahedin and they would shoot me if I dared go down there. I exist by renting out some donkeys I still have to people traveling on this trail. But I have lost many animals during the war. I used to have 100 goats and 25 milk cows. Now I have 20 goats and 4 cows. I have sold many animals to get money for seed corn. Before the war we produced the grain we needed here along the Kunar River, now we live like thieves on aid shipments from Pakistan. I don't dare let my children go out with the animals. We have dug caves in the mountains for protection, but we never know when the Russians will start bombing. Last year when the harvest was ripe, the Russians and khalkis burned it. I may be forced to burn it myself this year. They have dropped butterfly mines here on the trail and some landed on the fields and I do not dare go into them in order to harvest crops. Many townspeople were injured when they cleared the trail of mines and we lost about 40 goats."

6578

CSO: 3650/134

SOVIET BOMBING OF AFGHAN TOWNS DESCRIBED

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 21 Feb 84 p 1

[Text] ZAHEDAN, (Dispatches)--Afghan Mujahideen captured eighty Afghan government troops and seized 105 light and heavy armaments in a fierce battle with the Joint Afghan and Soviet forces in the province of Herat on February 14.

Informed Afghan sources further said that the joint forces in a retaliatory move surrounded six villages in Herat province, but ran into the stiff resistance of the Mujahideen who forced the aggressors to retreat sustaining heavy losses.

A commander of the 28th division of the Afghan army was killed while 5 vehicles fell in the hands of the Afghan Mujahideen.

The source further said that in another attack by the Afghan Mujahideen on an ammunition dump of the Afghan forces on February 11, 22 Kalashnikovs, one anti-aircraft gun and 30,000 cartridges were seized by the Afghan Mujahideen. Also an armoured tank of the joint forces were destroyed in the attack. No casualties were inflicted on the Afghan Mujahideen, said the source.

Earlier this month, hundreds of civilians, many women and children, have reportedly been massacred in a Soviet offensive on a small town north of Kabul, witnesses have told Western diplomats in Kabul.

A Western diplomatic source here quoted refugees who fled the town of Istalef for Kabul as bombs and artillery fire hit them. Istalef had already been half destroyed in a major Soviet attack last november.

Western diplomats in Kabul said the refugees' reports were reliable. They described massacres of Afghan resistance fighters and their families whose throats were slit and their bodies then thrown down wells.

Afghan resistance spokesmen in Peshawar could neither deny nor confirm the reports.

Soviet infantry were said to have invaded Istalef, about 50 kms (30 miles) north of the Afghan capital before dawn, setting homes on fire. After the

massacres they withdrew and artillery fire was launched against the town. Helicopters from Kabul joined the attack. Mujahideen in the Hezbi-Islami and Jamiat-Islami parties put up fierce resistance reportedly killing 50 Soviet soldiers. After 36 hours of fighting three helicopters and several lorries took the Soviet dead and wounded to Kabul.

The attack on Istalef coincided with a wave of bombings against several towns and villages in the Shomali plain, north of Kabul, where the Soviets suspect numerous resistance groups to be wintering

Bombings have been reported at Guldara, Qarabagh, Chakardara and Charikar, near the entrance to the Panjshir Valley.

At Chakardara, according to diplomats, Soviet planes mistakenly bombed a large column of soldiers from the eighth Afghan division on January 27. Heavy casualties were reported, including the deaths of a general and two colonels.

Diplomats said 193 civilians had been killed in reprisal bombings on New Year's eve of Rauza village, near the provincial capital Ghazni, south of Kabul.

The shelling immediately followed the withdrawal from Rauza of Afghan soldiers who had been attacked by Mujahideen as they searched the village for men trying to avoid conscription.

CSO: 4600/403



OVER 500 AFGHANS REPORTEDLY 'MARTYRED' BY SOVIETS

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 19 Feb 84 p 1

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Pakistan (AP)--More than 500 Moslem guerillas were slain by Afghan government security forces in recent military operations across Afghanistan, Radio Kabul said Thursday.

It said 288 guerillas were killed and 30 others caught in a single battle in Herat Province, near the border with Iran.

It added that 170 weapons were seized in the raid.

The state run radio, in a broadcast monitored here, gave no details of the fighting, nor did it mention government losses.

The Pushtu-language broadcast also acknowledged heavy fighting in the Kohistan District of Kapisa Province just 40 miles (46 kilometers) northeast of the capital.

It said 185 guerillas were killed and two others captured by government troopers. It added that a number of weapons were seized but it gave no details.

Guerillas also suffered a major defeat in Nangarhar Province, in southeastern Afghanistan bordering Pakistan according to the radio, which said 47 resistance fighters including their commander, identified only as Khani, were killed.

In Paktia Province, also bordering Pakistan, 72 guerillas were also reported killed and a variety of weapons captured.

The claims could not be independently verified.

Kabul radio, official voice of Afghanistan's Soviet-backed government, has been broadcasting high guerilla death tolls almost each night for the past month.

In all the accounts of fighting, the radio has made no mention of involvement of Soviet troops who marched into Afghanistan in December 1979 to crush a Moslem insurrection against the government it helped install.

## POLITICAL PARTIES EXPRESS CONCERN OVER BORDER FENCE

Samyabadi Dal, Others

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 11 Feb 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] Political parties in the country have reacted sharply to India's finally embarking on raising barbed wire fence along Bangladesh borders.

Three political parties Bangladesher Samyabadi Dal, Jatiya Ganatantrik Party and Progotisheel Ganatantrik Shokti held emergency meeting of their executive committees to review the situation and asked India to stop the construction of the fencing immediately.

The three parties later in separate statements issued to the press urged the government to take all unresolved bilateral issues with India to the international forums "if India goes ahead with its heinous design."

The local papers yesterday carried a press report from New Delhi saying that India had already begun construction of the barbed wire fence along Bangladesh borders.

Bangladesh in the past had protested to India at the highest level against her plans to construct barbed-wire fence along the international border.

Bangladesher Samyabadi Dal (M-L) expressed grave concern over the construction of the barbed wire fence at Karimganj sector along the Bangladesh-India border and said this measure of the Indian Government is a clear violation of the international law that no defence installation should be erected within 150 yards of the border.

The party bitterly criticised India for constructing barbed wire and said it has demonstrated Indian expansionist policy to exert pressure on small country like Bangladesh.

Progotisheel Ganatantrik Shokti in a statement said India planned to erect barbed-wire fence along Assam border with a propaganda that the Bangladeshi enter into Aesam through this way. In fact the party said India has been trying for long to construct the barbed wire with a view to diverting the attention of the Indians from the troubled Assam state.

Jatiyo Ganatantrik Party (JAGPA) which also held an emergency meeting yesterday to review the situation arising out of construction of the barbed-wire expressed surprise over the silence of the government on the issue from the very beginning.

#### Hindu Oikya Front

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 11 Feb 84 p 1

[Text] Bangladesh Hindu Oikya Front on Friday expressed its strong resentment over the Indian move to put up barbed-wire fencing along Bangladesh border and said it aimed at containing Assem problems in India, reports ENA.

In a joint statement convenor of the front Manindra Nath Sarker, central convening committee members Dr Suboda Chandra Shaha, Shashi Bhusan Banik and Advocate Samar Chakraborty described Indian move as a "farce" and said it will not only undermine the image of Bangladesh but also of India in the outside world.

They called upon the government and people of India put off the move for constructing barbed-wire fencing along Bangladesh.

CSO: 4600/1574

## TRADE GAP WITH INDIA REPORTEDLY SHRINKS

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 13 Feb 84 pp 1, 8

[Article by Monowar Hossain]

[Text] The trade gap between Bangladesh and India came down to Tk 37 crore during the last financial year (1982-83) from Taka 58 crore during the financial year 1981-82.

During the period 1982-83 the export from Bangladesh to India was to the tune of Tk 39 crore while import from India was recorded at Tk 76 crore.

In the private sector the volume of import from India during the said period increased significantly compared to the previous years while import in public sector was reduced. Coal remained the major import item from India in public sector and machinery, spare parts, electrical goods, equipment, dyes, tyre and tube, bus and truck were the principal items imported from India under private initiatives.

On the other hand, major items exported to India were naptha, bitumin, news-print and wet blue leather. The exports were mainly done under public sector. Besides, export of glycerine, raw jute and rayon yarn fetched around 1.5 crore during the last financial year.

Observers believe that exploiting the advantage in the area of trade between the two neighbourly countries the existing trade gap between Bangladesh and India can be reduced further and an equilibrium in the trade is possible to be maintained. Through different bilateral forums Bangladesh repeatedly tried to reduce the trade gap between the two countries but response of India to different proposals advanced by Bangladesh from time to time was not encouraging. Bangladesh on many occasions tried to induce India to accept handicraft and other non-traditional items in their import list, but India expressed their interest for importing urea which Bangladesh was not in a position to export on regular basis. A series of trade review meetings between the two countries took place from time to time and considered the aspects of reducing the trade gap between Bangladesh and India. But the meetings could not make any head way by chalking out definite steps for reducing the trade gap.

CSO: 4600/1580

# PROBLEMS SURROUNDING JSD EXECUTIVE MEETING TOLD

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 13 Feb 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] The meeting of the central executive committee of Jatiyo Samajtantrik Dal (JSD) led by its General Secretary Mr A.S.M. Abdur Rab was held yesterday at his residence.

The meeting which was earlier scheduled to be held at its central office was hurriedly shifted fearing clash with the rival faction of the party led by its Joint Secretary Mr Shahjahan Siraj. The supporters of both the factions took their position at the central office and its premises before the scheduled time.

Mr Rab arrived at the venue at about 4.40 p.m. along with some of his workers but did not enter into the office. He exchanged views with his faction of Student League leaders and later left the premises about 4.43.

Talking to the reporters Mr Rab said he had shifted the venue as there was no congenial atmosphere for holding the executive committee meeting. He said that he had definite information that a group of workers armed with hockey sticks occupied the central office. So he decided to shift the venue. Mr Rab did not disclose the venue to the reporters. He, however, told that the decisions of the meeting would be communicated to the press and he will return to the office after the meeting. After his departure, the rival faction of Student League led by its General Secretary Mr Mustaque Hossain raised slogan against their political stand and briefly addressed his followers. He said that the doors of the JSD office were open but the meeting could not be held due to their failure to fill the quorum. It is very much normal in an organisation like JSD which has had a long tradition of struggle, he added.

Mrs Shirin Akhtar, President of the Student League and Mr Kazi Arif Ahmed, a member of the JSD national committee, who belongs to the faction led by Mr Shiraj, earlier left central office before the arrival of Mr Rab.

Supporters of the 15-party alliance were also present at the premises of the JSD office. They attended a workers meeting of the Bangladesher Samajtantrik Dal (BSD)--a break-away faction of JSD held in close proximity at the same time. This meeting was addressed by the city units of the 15-party leaders.

At about 7-45 p.m. police asked the 15-party supporters along with the supporters of the rival faction of JSD to leave the premises. Police force was mobilised around the JSD office since 2 p.m. The situation however, remained peaceful.

At about 9-20 p.m., Mr Nure Alam Jiku and Khandakar Abdul Baten, Organising Secretary and member of the central executive committee, arrived at the central office and addressed the workers. They said the party will require fresh mandate from its national council to boycott upazila polls. The executive committee have no authority to decide the matter.

They said JSD manifesto supports participation in polls at all levels of the administration. Replying to question Mr Jiku said they have a quorum of emergency meeting. He did not mention the name of the leaders attending the meeting. The meeting was adjourned yesterday night.

Later a press release of the party said that a meeting of the central committee was held at the residence of Mr A.S.M. Abdur Rab with Mr Chitta Ranjan Guha, Vice-President of the party in the chair. The meeting in a resolution elected Mr Chitta Ranjan Guha as its Acting President subject to the approval of the national committee.

The meeting decided to convene the national committee meeting on March 3.

Mr Hasaul Huq Inu, a leader of the JSD faction led by Mr Shahjahan Siraj, however, claimed that Mr Chitta Ranjan Guha did not attend the meeting. Mr Guha is now at Rajbari, he added. Mr Inu also claimed that only six central leaders attended the emergency meeting convened by Mr Rab which was short of one member to fulfil the quorum. At least seven members are required out of the 21 member central executive committee to fill the quorum.

CSO: 4600/1580

## ELECTION COMMISSION APPOINTS TRIBUNALS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 14 Feb 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] The Election Commission has appointed 52 election tribunals each comprising one sub-judge covering all the pourashavas to dispose of the election petitions in connection with the recently concluded elections to the pourashavas. This has been notified in an official gazette issued on February 12 last.

The Election Commission shall appoint election tribunals consisting of a judicial officer for specified areas according to Section 28 of the Pourashava Ordinance 1977.

No election shall be called in question according to Section 27 except by an election petition and any candidate may make an election petition challenging the election in which he was a candidate says a Press release of Election Commission.

Rule 42 of the Pourashava (Election) Rules 1977, provides that--

- a. An election petition shall be presented to the Tribunal within 30 days next after the publication of the names of the returned candidates in the Official Gazette.
- b. The election petition shall be presented to the Tribunal either by the candidate in person or by a person duly authorised by him in writing in this behalf.
- c. Every election petition shall be accompanied by receipt showing a deposit of five hundred Taka in any branch of the Sonali Bank or a government treasury in favour of the Returning Officer concerned as security for the costs of the petition.

Rule 43 of the above mentioned Rules provides that the petitioner may claim as relief any of the following declarations:

- a. That the election of any returned candidate is void and that the petitioner or some other person has been duly elected; or

b. That the election as a whole is void.

An election petition may be withdrawn by a petitioner at any time during the course of the trial.

Section 30(3) of the Ordinance provides that the decision of the Election Tribunal on an election petition shall be final and shall not be called in question in or before any court.

CSO: 4600/1578



ERSHAD SPEAKS ON SITUATION IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 13 Feb 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] President General Ershad asked the workers of the Natun Bangla Chhatra Samaj to resist chaos and anarchy in order to maintain a congenial academic atmosphere in the campus.

Addressing a rally of the Natun Bangla Chhatra Samaj at the premises of the Engineers Institute yesterday afternoon, General Ershad said, "Like you I too want a change and to restore a congenial atmosphere for rebuilding a new society and a new Bangladesh."

At the high pitch of his voice, General Ershad said, "Natun Bangla Chhatra Samaj is my own organization and its four ideals are my ideals too."

Amidst repeated slogans, the General told the rally that Natun Bangla Chhatra Samaj would have to carry out its efforts in bringing back healthy and congenial academic atmosphere in the campus.

Presided over by the convenor of the Natun Bangla Chhatra Samaj, Rafiqul Huq Hafiz, the rally was also addressed by Education Minister Dr A. Majid Khan, President's Special Assistant A.R. Yosouf, Dhaka University Senate member Anwar Hussain Khan Choudhury and convenor of the the Natun Bangla Jatiyo Jubo Sanghati A.T.M. Rafiqul Islam.

The rally which was supposed to be a grand conference of the Natun Bangla Chhatra Samaj first ever to be held in Dhaka since its inception about a year ago began at 3.40 pm with the arrival of President Ershad, though it was scheduled to start at 2 p.m.

General Ershad said the trend of today's students politics had disappointed everybody in the society as "We see cliques, conspiracies and killings everywhere." He also regretted outsiders equipped with arms continued to stay in the residential halls whereas the students were roaming in the streets.

BSS adds: President Ershad said he cannot but express deep concern over the deteriorating situation in the educational institutions and at the trend of students politics which is giving rise to indiscipline and clashes.

The President said such a negative trend of students politics is pushing the country towards destruction and this have to be reversed. He said non-students have clinched to the leadership of the students community and so there is rattling of arms in residential halls instead of sound of late night utterings of lessons which was common in their days.

Gen Ershad said that such negative students politics has so polluted the academic atmosphere that today a very small number of students can be found in the library and in the fields. This thing cannot be allowed to continue, it has to be stopped for the greater interest of the country, he said.

He said education is the only means to ensure employment of any individual. So the Government wants to diversify education and make greater provision for vocational education to enable the younger generation to get employment. He urged the rally to extend their support to the government in accomplishing the objective of the government for making education meaningful.

Commending the role of Natun Bangla Chhatra Samaj (NBCS) in their endeavour to restore healthy academic atmosphere in the educational institutions, Gen Ershad declared that the NBCS is his own organisation because its four principles are his principle.

These four principles are: restoration of healthy academic atmosphere in the campus, maintenance of good relations between the students and teachers, participation in development activities and keeping the student away from party politics, he added.

President Ershad urged the members of NBCS to remain united and gather more strength in the rank and file of the students to build a new society where the students would not be disturbed in their pursuit of knowledge.

He regretted that the members of NBCS who are trying to set a healthy trend in students are falling victims to conspiracy and violence. He told them to build up resistance along with the common students against injustice and use of arms.

"You are my strength and I depend on you," he told the rally which raised slogans Ershad go ahead, we are with you.

Gen Ershad reminded the rally that academic life is the best time to acquire knowledge and get oneself prepared for shouldering future national responsibility. He urged them not to waste this valuable time of their life by playing at the hands of vested quarters and devote to the pursuit of knowledge to build them as worthy citizens.

CSO: 4600/1580

BRIEFS

**JUBO SANGHATI COMMITTEE**--The central convening committee of Natun Bangla Jubo Sanghati has been reorganised with Mr A.T.M. Refiquil Islam as its convener, reports BSS. Mia Shahid Hussain and Mr M.H. Khan Manju have been made joint conveners while Mohammad Selim has been made Office Secretary in the 95-member reorganised central convening committee. The members of committee include messrs M.N. Islam, MA Kamal, Emran Chowdhury Masum, M.M. Golam Parvez Didar and Sadequor Rahman Hiru. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 11 Feb 84 p 1]

**AMBASSADOR TO PRC**--The Government has decided to appoint Mr K.M. Kaiser as Ambassador of Bangladesh to the People's Republic of China, reports BSS. Ambassador Kaiser, 66, joined the foreign service in 1950 and served in various capacities in diplomatic mission in Peking, New York and Washington from 1950 to 1962. He was High Commissioner to Australia and New Zealand from 1962 to 1969 and Ambassador to Sweden, Norway and Denmark till 1969. From 1969 to 1972 Mr Kaiser was Ambassador in Peking. From 1972 to 1976 Ambassador Kaiser served as Bangladesh envoy to Burma and was concurrently accredited to Singapore, North Korea, Vietnam and Thailand. Mr K.M. Kaiser after the completion of the regular service retired in 1976. He was in contract service till 1982. After the expiry of his contract he settled in US. He is now appointed on a fresh contract. Ambassador Kaiser was Permanent Representative of Bangladesh to the United Nations in New York from March 1976 to February 1982. During Bangladesh's tenure as a non-permanent member of the Security Council in 1978 he represented the country at the Council in addition to his responsibility as the Permanent Representative to the United Nations. Ambassador Kaiser was the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established under a resolution concerning the question of arms embargo against South Africa. He is the co-author of a book on the economic, political and social revolution on modern China. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 14 Feb 84 p 12]

**AWAMI LEAGUE OFFICIAL**--Mr Salahuddin Yusuf has relinquished the office of the President of Khulna district Awami League, reports ENA. In a press statement issued last night Mr Yusuf said he has been discharging duties and responsibilities of the President of Khulna Zila Awami League and of a member of the working committee of the party for a long time. He said he was unable to discharge the duties of both the offices and hence he was relinquishing the office of President of Khulna Zila Awami League. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 13 Feb 84 p 1]

**HINDU LEAGUE FORMED**--A new political party titled "Hindu League" has been formed with Major (ret'd) Anukul Chandra Dev as Convener. The new party was floated at a Press conference on Sunday at the Jatiya Press Club. In the manifesto of the party the Convener said that the Hindu community with a population of "two crore" were being neglected all the time. He regretted that in the past the Hindu community extended support to many political parties. But in turn their grievances were not removed. The main objectives of the party is to imbue the Hindus with the Hindu nationalism, resist communalism, organise movement for scrapping the Enemy Property Act. The other members of the Convening Committee are: Mr Rana Deanjee, Mr Sanjib Choudhury, advocate Makhan Lal Ghosh, Capt (ret'd) Shachin Karmakar and Nakul Chandra Shaha. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 21 Feb 84 p 12]

**SAUDI DEVELOPMENT LOAN**--Saudi Arabia will provide Bangladesh with a loan of 31 million Saudi Riyal (equivalent to nine million US dollars) for drilling for oil and gas in Chittagong and Sylhet. Disclosing this to the Times, the leader of the three-member Saudi team, Dr Husni Mahmoud El-Nigeoumi said that an agreement between Saudi Government and the Petrobangla would be signed today (Friday). The long term loan at soft interest will be available from Saudi Fund for Development for preparatory works for drilling oil and gas at Patheria, Fenchuganj and Sitakund, he said. The Saudi team arrived in Dhaka a week ago to assess the requirement of Bangladesh in the field of gas and oil. Dr Nigeoumi said that it was the first project aid to Petrobangla by Saudi Government for making preparation for drilling for gas and oil. He said the members of the team visited the drilling sites with the Chairman and other officials of the Petrobangla. The Saudi team will leave for Riyadh today (Friday). [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 17 Feb 84 pp 1, 8]

**UNIVERSITY CLOSED**--Jahangirnagar University has been closed sine die on Saturday. Students have been asked to vacate their respective halls by 8 a.m. today (Sunday). The decision to this effect was taken at a meeting of the Deans, Provosts of halls and the departmental heads, apprehending law and order problems in the campus when two rival organisations of the students--Naton Bangla Chhatra Samaj and Sangran Parishad held meetings separately in the campus at 10 a.m. today (Saturday). Vice-Chancellor of the University presided over the meeting. Meanwhile, leaders of the Naton Bangla Chhatra Samaj met the 11-member committee and assured it of their co-operation in maintaining law and order in the campus. They urged the authorities to keep the university open in the "best interest of the general students." [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 12 Feb 84 p 1]

**FINNISH ELECTRIFICATION GRANT**--The Government of Finland has committed Fim 95 million equivalent to 19 million dollar as grant for rural electrification, development of Chittagong Port and expansion of telecommunication facilities in the rural areas, reports BSS. [Excerpt] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 12 Feb 84 p 1]

JATIYA JOTE PARTIES--People's Democratic Party and Nezame Islam Party joined the Jatiya Jote led by Ataur Rahman Khan on Monday raising the number of components to 13. The joining of the two parties with the Jote was approved by a Jote central committee meeting chaired by Syed Azizul Haq Nanna Mian which also formed a committee for the observance of the Martyrs' Day on Feb 21. The meeting also demanded Government action against the Indian aggressive designs of making the northern part of the country a desert, presence of Indian survey ship at Talpatty, and dilly dallying over Tinbigha transfer to Bangladesh. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 8 Feb 84 p 1]

TIES WITH COLOMBIA--Bangladesh and Colombia have decided to establish diplomatic relations at the ambassadorial level from today (Tuesday), it was officially announced here yesterday, reports BSS. Bangladesh will maintain diplomatic relations with Colombia through concurrent accreditation to one of its ambassadors high commissioners from a nearby resident mission, the announcement said. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 14 Feb 84 p 8]

CSO: 4600/1575

IRAN

# CHIEF JUSTICE DISCUSSES JUDICIAL SYSTEM, WAR, IRAQ'S FUTURE

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 28 Feb 84 p 14

[Interview with Chief Justice Ayatollah Musavi-Ardabili by AL-JEHAD; date and place not specified]

[Text] In its latest issue, the Arabic language publication AL-JEHAD, which is published in Tehran, features an exclusive interview with Chief Justice Ayatollah Musavi-Ardabili. Because of the importance of the issues raised, we have translated and are publishing this interview.

The text of this conversation of the chief justice with AL-JEHAD is as follows:

Question: One of the characteristics of the judicial system of the past regime was the lowering of the quality of justice and the regime's distance from justice and the oppressed. We might perhaps say that this sensitive system was entrusted to the wishes and whims of the previous regime. Could you give us a picture of the judicial system of the past regime?

Answer: Of course, with so little time, it would be impossible to completely clarify the situation with regard to the judicial system of the tyrant. However, the fundamental changes that we have thus far created in this system can familiarize us with it.

In short, the previous judicial system can be described as one with two courts: one penal and the other judiciary. The penal courts were divided into misdemeanor and criminal courts and the judiciary courts were divided into arbitration and judiciary courts. Of course, along with these were also family support, administrative organization, technical and legal courts, the Office of the Prosecutor General and the investigation bureau as well as a number of offices which are judiciary in a sense, such as the office for registration of records, the official newspaper of the country and the medical examiner's office. This collection comprised the judicial system, which was managed by a

ministerial jurisdiction which was naturally a part of the executive branch.

It must be pointed out that along with the courts affiliated with the Justice Department, there were special courts over which the regime had direct supervision without consulting with the judicial system.

In order to control the judicial system, the tyrant placed his supporters to head affairs through the Ministry of Justice, entrusted them with much authority and enabled them to affect the judicial process. As a result, the judicial system had become weakened and dependent on the executive branch, which was in turn under his domination. Furthermore, SAVAK interfered and influenced prosecutions and the appointment and dismissal of judges, which was another factor in the weakness of the previous judicial organization, making it unable to carry out its actual duties.

Question: Naturally, considering what has been said and the deviation of the judicial system of the past regime in carrying out its responsibilities, vast, comprehensive changes were needed in order to make this system harmonious with the Islamic revolution. Of course, you have carried out important work in this area such that it can be called a revolution. Now we would like to know, what were the most important of these measures?

Answer: The first step which we took to reform the situation with regard to the judiciary in the country involved the Constitution. The Constitution places a special importance on the judicial branch and affords it more independence. Of course, like before, there is a minister of justice, but his duty is only to create contact and coordination between the supreme judicial council and the government. Also, after the revolution, we abolished the special courts that had weakened the judicial system.

We took the second step in the area of administration organization. The Supreme Judicial Council was formed in accordance with the Constitution and took over the responsibility for devising bills and supervising over the courts and the judicial institutions.

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic has determined the number of members of the Supreme Judicial Council to be eight, of which five members are to be appointed by the leader of the revolution, provided they are selected from among just, religious jurists and include the head of the Supreme Judicial Council and the prosecutor general, and the other three are to be approved by the leader as just religious jurists and are to be elected by the majority vote of the judges of the country.

## Authority of the Supreme Judicial Council

The authority of the Supreme Judicial Council, which is the judicial system of the country, has been expanded so that it is able to interrogate the highest officials of the country, including the president, the prime minister, the ministers, the representatives of the Majlis and ordinary people. Furthermore, the previous Constitution granted immunity from prosecution to certain individuals; but, in the new Constitution, such immunity has been abolished.

Another issue is that the president is required to take a legal oath before the chief justice. Also, the land and property of the government officials is evaluated by the Supreme Judicial Council.

Another responsibility of the Supreme Judicial Council is the selection of 6 of the 12 members of the Council of Guardians.

Since the revolution, two new organizations have been added to the judicial system. One is the administrative court of justice for investigating and issuing opinions in legal administrative complaints and violations. Another is for general inspection, the duty of which is to supervise and follow up the affairs of government institutions. Another basic change in the judicial system is the replacement of the family support court with the civil courts.

This is a summary of the changes which we have been able to make in the judicial branch in accordance with the Constitution of the Islamic Republic. Here, I must add that at the present time, more than 300 judges are serving in the judicial cadre and about 12-14,000 persons serve in the administrative cadre of the Justice Department.

## The Judicial Law College

In order to provide the judicial cadre, in the judicial law college of the University of Tehran, plans have been made for this college to regain its role in training the judicial cadre of which the previous regime was incapable. This was the first college to be reopened. Also, in Qom, there is a college of judicial sciences, which has 20-35 graduates annually. In the judicial system itself also, certain rapid steps have been taken. For instance, in the past, the investigation of a case might take even 10-20 years before a final ruling would be issued, because the judicial system of the past was so complicated that a case was studied in three stages: first in the district capital, then in the provincial capital and, finally, in the capital (Tehran). After the victory of the revolution, we omitted the first two stages. A case is investigated in the city itself and if it



confronts a problem, it is referred to Tehran to the Supreme Court. The aim of this action is to expedite the process in the judicial system.

Another issue in which we made some changes was the arrangement of the courts.

In other words, we reduced the number of members of the court from five or three to two persons, one as the judge and another as the counsel, because having many members in the court not only did not affect the care taken in the rulings issued, but it actually prolonged trials for no reason. In the past, the five members of the court had no influence in the decision and only one person would make the final decision. Another change which has taken place in the judicial system has been the establishment of the revolution courts and Prosecutor's Offices and also, the procedure for the selection of the judicial cadre, which in the past SAVAK had a hand in. After the revolution, we dismissed many of these elements and now the judges are selected with the assistance of the theological centers.

Question: Concerning the laws, to what extent were you able to change the laws and legal procedures and replace them with Islamic laws?

Answer: In fact, the past laws of the country, especially the civil laws, were devised in accordance with Islamic principles, but in the course of the previous rule (father and son), these laws had undergone many changes and deviations and had differed greatly from the spirit of Islamic laws. But, in regards to the penal laws, they had not been based on Islamic laws from the beginning. For this reason, we changed those laws which were contrary to Islam and sent new legal bills to the Majlis, including the trade, penal and retribution laws and the laws of the civil courts as well as certain bills concerning smuggling and smugglers.

Question: From our conversation, it is clear that in the past five years, you confronted many problems and difficulties, especially given the heavy burden placed on the shoulder of the judicial system by the Pahlavi dynasty in the course of its 57 years of rule. What were the most important of these problems and how did you overcome them?

Answer: Our most important problem in the beginning of the revolution was the revolution courts and Revolution Prosecutor's Office, because at that time, no clear legal laws or authority existed for the revolution courts except for the authority conferred on them by the Revolution Council.

In addition, the lack of an experienced, trustworthy cadre was another of our problems, because the brothers who engaged in the judiciary were not experienced and the volume of the work and disputes was very high. Also, we had problems in regards to coordinating the work of the revolution courts and the regular courts, because the previous misdemeanor and criminal courts were heir to the previous laws and continued their work under those laws, whereas, in this country, a nation had made a revolution and did not want to see the continuation of the same laws in the courts, which was justified.

Despite the above-mentioned problems and impediments, with reliance on God and untiring, round-the-clock effort, we were able to overcome them. The point must be made that the problems that the judicial system often faces are of a particular kind. They do not always correspond with the wishes and demands of all the people. For this reason, hostilities develop towards the system, because people like death, but only for the neighbor!

Question: How were you able to make so many changes in a period of only five years in a society which has not become completely Islamic?

Answer: Naturally, we do not claim that we have implemented all the Islamic laws and that our society has become 100 percent Islamic. But we have made an effort to bring about these changes. When we are able to implement the justice of 'Ali and when we are able to establish a society which is devoid of poverty, need, oppression, hunger and oppressors, then we can say that our society has become Islamic, but now we are far from being such.

Question: As the guardian of the affairs of the Muslims, in what way does the imam of the nation supervise over the judicial system?

Answer: The imam of the nation supervises over the judicial system through the chief justice and the prosecutor general, who are appointed by him, and also by the nation, through the letters and reports which are sent to the imam by the people and which show the satisfaction or discontent of the people.

Question: It appears that martyr Ayatollah Beheshti had prepared the bill for the retribution law. To what extent has this bill been implemented? And, since the aim of the above-mentioned bill was to prevent crime, to what extent have you achieved this aim?

Answer: In regards to the retribution bill which was prepared during the time of martyr Ayatollah Beheshti, one of numerous bills, the number of which amounted to 250 legislative bills, and which I referred to, this bill is now being implemented and there

are no obstacles in carrying it out, especially since it was ratified by the Majlis as well.

Question: You know that many Muslims throughout the world are tried on charges of Islamic activities and, naturally, [you know] what these trials are like. Has the Supreme Judicial Council thought about sending defense councils for them?

Answer: Yes, we have thought about this problem and we have tried to send lawyers to Egypt to defend the prisoners of the Islamic movement in that country, but we face the problem of the severance of relations between the two countries. Another problem is that these countries do not accept our lawyers.

Question: The enemies of Islam abroad spread rumors that in the Islamic Republic, prisoners are tortured in interrogations. As the chief justice, what is your response to these allegations?

Answer: In my opinion, these allegations require no answer, because no matter what we say or they say, no evidence or proof exists for this claim.

What is important is that they provide proof. Those who spread such rumors are no longer able to do anything. They engage in spreading rumors in their places of exile.

We emphasize that these claims are lies and may God curse the liars.

#### Retaliation in War

Question: Considering the recent changes in the war fronts and the decision of Iran to engage in retaliation and the bombing of cities in Iraq, as one of the pillars of the Islamic Republic of Iran and head of the judicial system, can you explain Iran's reasons for such a decision?

Answer: Retaliation under such circumstances is accepted by all human beings. This retaliation is a kind of defense and not aggression. Should we remain silent as before while our country is being invaded?

Naturally, we must try to respond and prevent the continuation of the aggression. If we were able to build walls around cities to protect them against enemy fire, we would do so. But this is neither effective nor wise. Hence, we must engage in retaliation to stop the enemy. This is a right granted us even by the Koran, which states: If you are wronged, return the same as has been done to you [Arabic].

This is a logical law and is not contrary to Islamic laws. Every living creature must defend itself. They say that Saddam has engaged in aggression against us, but what is the fault of others? Well, they should say the same to Saddam. As I said, Islam grants us permission and this is a just law.

If someone is shooting at you and hiding behind another person, what do you do? Do you sit silently by and let him shoot at you because he is hiding behind an innocent person? Or do you tell the innocent person to step aside in order to respond to the first one? This is what we have done. For this reason, there is no religious problem. If we do not defend ourselves, we would be committing suicide. This is what our wisdom dictates, and our religion agrees. Wisdom dictates that a human being must defend himself and if he does not do so, he has made a mistake. The tradition of the Prophet, texts and reported sayings also grant us such permission and they might even question why we did not engage in such actions earlier.

Question: How do you see the future of the war and Iraq?

Answer: In my opinion, if it were not for the great powers and the reactionary regimes, Saddam would not have stayed alive and would not have been able to put up resistance. For this reason, this war will continue until the military and political fall of Saddam.

Those who provide financial and logistical aid to Saddam must know that their actions are futile. It is in their interests to stop their support as soon as possible and begin to think of a solution in the interests of Iraq, Iran and others.

In my opinion, Saddam is a corrupt, stupid, treacherous, puppet element.

As to how long the war will continue, I cannot say precisely. However, it will not go beyond the period 21 March 1984-20 March 1985.

Concerning the future of Iraq, the people of Iraq must decide. If this freedom is given to the people of Iraq, naturally, they will choose an Islamic government.

He said: We also wish an Islamic government to be established in Iraq in the future, because the majority of the people of Iraq are Muslims. This is our only wish because we believe that the people of Iraq must take their destiny into their own hands and if they ask us for assistance in this regard, we will respond positively.

# NEW REGULATIONS FOR PRESS, PUBLICATIONS PROMULGATED

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 7 Feb 84 pp 1, 6

[Text] HIS Majesty's Government has published new rules and regulations for printing press and publications under which arrangements have been made to provide a grant assistance of Rs. 12,000/- for promotion of journalism and a cash award of upto Rs. 50,000/- annually, according to a notice published by the Communications Ministry in the Nepal Gazette Monday.

Under the new regulation, the daily newspapers are required to publish a minimum of 145 issues, bi-weeklies 40 issues, weeklies 22 issues, fortnightly 10 issues, monthly 5 issues, bi-monthly 3 issues and quarterlies 2 issues within a period of six months.

The dailies are required to publish 300 copies of each issue with not be less than four pages of 10 by 15 inches while other newspapers and journals are required to publish 200 copies of each issue with not less than four pages of 10 by 16 inches.

Other journals are required to publish 100 copies of each issue with not less than eight pages of 6 by 9 inches.

Registration for all the newspapers and journals is made compulsory and a registration fees of Rs. 400/-, Rs. 300/-, Rs. 100/- for dailies, bi-weeklies and weeklies, fortnightly and other journals will have to be paid.

The dailies should provide bank guarantee of Rs. 50,000/-, bi-weekly, weeklies and fortnightly newspapers Rs. 40,000/- and other journals Rs. 5,000/- along with their applications for registration to prove their financial viability.

Under the new rules, the bank guarantees for the newspapers and journals should be renewed every year.

Likewise, individuals seeking to run a printing press should get their printing press registered in accordance with the new regulations and operate the printing press within six months of receiving the registration certificate.

The publishers are required to obtain permission from His Majesty's Government if they are obliged to discontinue publication for a certain period even when

such permission is granted to the publisher, the dailies, bi-weeklies, weeklies, fortnightly, monthly, bi-monthly, quarterly and other newspapers are required to publish not less than 100,32,18,8,4,2,8 and 1 issues.

Likewise the newspapers under the regulations cannot be published by printing the name of any of the banned newspaper in any manner whatsoever.

The new regulations require submission to His Majesty's Government for approval to publish any advertisement or publicity materials received from a foreign government, association, organisation citizen or international organization.

Approval for publication of such materials or advertisements should be obtained from the director of the Department of Information.

Materials affecting the foreign policy of Nepal, that of the foreign policy of other foreign countries, materials affecting the foreign relations of Nepal with any of the friendly countries, materials that disparage any class of the society or religion shall not be published.

The publisher of a newspaper will be required to maintain accounts of the income and expenditure which shall be audited by an auditor. The audit report should be submitted to the Press Council and Department of Information through the local official by mid-October each year.

His Majesty's Government can ban the publication of a newspaper for a certain period if the publisher of a newspaper goes against the regulations.

A press representative or reporter will be required to formally apply to director of Information Department for accreditation.

A foreign correspondent in Nepal should either belong to the country concerned to which the agency belongs or he or she should be a Nepali citizen.

Accreditation papers shall be issued by the Department of Information at the recommendation of the Press Council.

Press representative or reporter should pay 50 rupees as fee for the accreditation.

The accreditation will be valid for one year.

The accreditation of press representative or reporter given to foreign nationals will not ordinarily renewed more than four times.

While the Kingdom of Nepal will be the field of operation of Nepalese press representatives or reporters that of the foreign press representatives or reporters will be limited to Kathmandu valley.

Foreign press representative or reporter can however visit other parts of the Kingdom by obtaining temporary accreditation from the director of the Department of Information.

Temporary accreditation can also be given to those seeking it for a particular function or work, or for discharging the responsibilities of a foreign correspondent during the latter's absence here.

HMG can suspend or cancel the accreditation of a press representative or reporter when proved that he has failed to conduct himself in conformity with his professional-ethics, or abused the facilities extended to him or filed deliberately false, misleading or mischievous reports, or dispatched news in contravention of the code of conduct.

The publisher of a newspaper will be given the opportunity to defend himself when HMG suspends publication of the newspaper.

The regulations also enjoin the Press Council to study and evaluate the activities and situation concerning newspapers and forward recommendations in this regard to HMG in every six month.

An evaluation committee comprising the Communications secretary as chairman, president of Nepal Journalists Association as well as two persons appointed by HMG as members and director of the Department of Information as member-secretary to evaluate the newspapers for purposes of giving prizes, financial assistance and other facilities to the newspapers.

The committee will evaluate a newspaper on the basis of, among other things, its printed number, circulation, area covered, contribution to promoting sense of nationalism and national sovereignty, enhancing the dignity of His Majesty the King and members of the Royal Family as well as consolidation of the fundamental principles of the Constitution of Nepal.

Prizes to be given to the newspapers will be based on the evaluation. While the first prize to be given will be of 50 thousand rupees, the second and third prizes will be of 25 thousand rupees and 15 thousand rupees respectively.

The evaluation committee will also put the newspapers in three categories for purposes of providing financial assistance every year.

His Majesty's Government can provide a grant assistance of Rs. 12,000/-, Rs. 8,000/-, Rs. 6,000/-, Rs. 5,000/-, Rs. 5,000/-, Rs. 5,000/- and Rs. 3,000/- to daily, weekly, fortnightly, monthly, quarterly, half-yearly and yearly newspapers falling under "A" category respectively.

Likewise, a grant assistance of Rs. 8,000/-, Rs. 5,000/-, Rs. 5,000/-, Rs. 4,000/-, Rs. 4,000/-, Rs. 4,000/-, Rs. 3,000/- and Rs. 2,000/- to daily, weekly, fortnightly, monthly, bi-monthly, quarterly, half-yearly and yearly newspapers falling under "B" category respectively.

His Majesty's Government can also provide a grant assistance to "C" category of newspapers not exceeding the grant given to "D" category of newspapers.

His Majesty's Government at the recommendation of the Press Council can also provide necessary facilities and assistances to not more than three "A" category of newspapers and five "B" category of newspapers for institutional development after the publisher makes a formal application along with the recommendation of the director of the Information Department for such facilities or assistance.

Likewise, His Majesty's Government can provide the newspapers advertisements and other publicity materials after scrutinising whether it has fulfilled the rules and regulation over a period of six months and upon receiving an application of the publisher with the recommendation of the director of the Information Department.

His Majesty's Government also reserves the right to withhold financial assistance, advertisements and other facilities given to any publisher if he is found working contrary to the existing rules and regulations.

His Majesty's Government has also annulled the Printing Press and Publication (Deposit) Rule 2027 B.S., Press (Election Procedure) Rule 2030 B.S., Press Representative Certificate Rules 2032 B.S. and Printing Press and Publication Registration Rules 2934 B.S.

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NEW PRESS REGULATIONS DISCUSSED

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 9 Feb 84 p 2

[Article by Tilak Dev Ghattarai: "Promoting Professionalism"]

[Text]

**To anyone earnestly desirous of developing professionalism in the Nepalese press sector, the new regulations on press and publications announced by His Majesty's Government cannot but come as a flush of hope and pleasure.**

**The comprehensive set of regulations comes at a time when the floodgate for issuing new licences has been thrown wide open while, at the same time, the respective publishers, editors and journalists involved in general are near about clamouring for government assistance for their journals.**

If the repeated questions on what the government was doing in concrete terms towards providing financial assistance were a major highlight at a press conference held recently by Prime Minister Lokendra Bahadur Chand in connection with the announcement of a seven-point economic programme, the mushroom-

ing of newspapers and other publications in the last one year has combined with the desperate situation in terms of financial problems faced by the numerous publications to demand clear-cut policies in black and white in this regard. And the Press and Publication Regulations, 2040 (B.S.), is a logical

answer to the pressing demand and persisting problem.

## Role

One need not mince too many words on the importance and role of the Fourth Estate; it is all too well known. A lot has been said, written and commented on regarding the Press and its role as the watchdog of incidents and events of local, national, regional and global importance, depending on the size, scope and purpose of the publication concerned.

However, the Press can play an effective role in fulfilling its objectives of informing, educating, entertaining and subtly influencing the readers—qualities that can be attained only and when it meets a certain, minimum level of standard. Unfortunately, in our case, the print media is by and large at a primitive stage, with professionalism yet to make any significant impact. Granted that the number of press publications has recorded a big spurt in the last one year from less than one hundred to nearly four hundred at present.

But how do so many publications survive? It is a highly pertinent question raised by not only Nepalese but also those who come from abroad. In a country with seventy-five percent illiteracy rate and where over forty percent of the people are below the poverty line, the existence of so many hundred newspapers, magazines and other journals does create a

disturbing question of resource scarcity. The problem is one of promoting and encouraging with financial assistance only those publications that are serious in the job, meet the minimum requirements in terms of newspaper size, coverage and contents, circulation, distribution patterns and the like—all factors so essential for anyone in the profession to command due attention and justify assistance to foster the paper even further.

## Requisites

It is against the above background that the new press regulations are to be taken into account. It not only stipulates that newspapers meet minimum standards by way of their size, pages, regularity, circulation and area coverage in terms of distribution networks but also stresses that they maintain their accounts and get it audited and reported to the Press Council and the Department of Information. It also requires to ensure a bank guarantee testifying their financial capacity of Rs. 50,000 each in the case of a news daily, Rs. 40,000 in the case of biweekly or a weekly or a fortnightly, and Rs. 5,000 for any other publication. Moreover, the bank guarantee needs to be renewed yearly.

At present, any and every person can become an editor of a newspaper by securing a licence and even if eventually bringing out his or her publication far too irregularly. The new regulations specify that an editor will have to secure a

certificate in Journalism from an institution recognised by His Majesty's Government or must have had at least five years' experience as a working journalist in a newspaper or other journals or two years' experience in HMG owned communication institution.

The publisher, too, will have to support his seriousness in bringing out the publication by producing testimonials certifying that he is well-equipped to undertake the venture by way of adequate printing, technical and financial resources prior to the actual issuance of the licence he seeks for. Similarly, any newspaper is liable to have its licence terminated in case, among other stipulations, it fails to bring out a minimum number of issues for its category of publications in six months—145 issues for dailies, 40 for biweeklies, 22 for weeklies, ten for fortnightlies, five for monthlies, three for bi-monthlies and two for quarterlies.

Likewise, the editorial staff of journal will also need to follow certain regulations.

## Promotion

If these are some of the regulations designed to ensure efficiency and regularity of journals, there are also others that are clearly tailored to promote and encourage publications that meet these requirements plus minimum circulation standards by extending them with financial assistance on the basis of an evaluation

committee report on their merits, consistency and standings.

The provision for the first prize carries Rs. 50,000, the second prize Rs. 25,000 and the third prize Rs. 15,000. In addition to these annual awards, yearly assistance of Rs. 12,000 to about Rs. 2000 will also be provided to different categories of publications, depending on the number of years they have been in the field, the number of districts and zones covered and similar other criteria.

The stipulations that a news publication meet a circulation requirement of five thousand copies to contest for the first award is indeed welcome. Not only will the publication be to have been in the field for at least ten years but it will have to also record a minimum circulation figure to stake claim for the top award. One only wishes that there are more than several journals in the fray for the top award, as it would undoubtedly mean more competition and better reading material.

There is also a provision for abrogating a newspaper licence should it carry materials detrimental to national interest but it will be given due opportunity to explain and clarify itself. Newspapers are among the champions of equality before law and certainly they cannot be expected to be treated above the existing law.

Thus, a cursory glance at the new set of press

regulations will suffice to indicate the objectives behind them and the rich prospects they promise for the world of Nepalese print media. The system of reward (financial assistance) and punishment (licence cancellation) is a step in the right direction and is most timely.

The new provisions encourage professional development and subtly stress on the publication of journals that are well-equipped. It is a pity that though the country today has nearly four hundred journals of all shapes and sizes, only an extremely few are well off financially, technically and professionally. The resources are scattered over too many journals.

### Spelling Success

While the new regulations are encouraging, the standards that have been set are not easy to fulfill. But they can be attained if resources are pooled together and professionals join hands to launch publications in keeping with the new regulations spirit. If a person chooses to become publisher, editor, printer, circulation manager and

advertisement collector all rolled into one, the task will be almost impossible. But should even if only a few publications succeed in undertaking joint ventures, the fruits of success would indeed be rewarding, the publication's influence high, circulation impressive & financial position healthy. An adequate dose of initial capital supported by skilled hands at the editorial desk, backed by objectivity in news reporting and consistent strive for better quality can spell success.

The successful ones will set the pace for others who, ultimately, will have to either tone up their resources and professionalism for a healthy and impressive survival or will have to submit to a natural death or continue running with neither influence nor market.

The new press regulations, if strictly implemented and followed, promise a major leap forward in the press development in the Kingdom. But a lot will depend on how the whole exercise is implemented. After all, one cannot fail to note that the taste of pudding is in the eating rather than in its making! □

# MINISTRY PLANS DEVELOPMENT OF SKILLED MANPOWER

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 17 Feb p 1

[Text] The Government has worked out a three-pronged programme to prepare a cadre of lower and middle level skilled manpower in various disciplines.

Under the programme, the Ministry of Education proposes to tap drop outs and those who are likely to leave their studies after a certain period of time and given them vocational training in different disciplines. This would be done in three ways: develop skilled manpower through institutional training, attach such candidates to existing institutes or industries as apprentices and issue certificates to the skilled persons in what officials described as the "non-formal sector".

According to official sources, entrants to the programme will be received through public advertisement. One pre-condition for potential applicants is that they should have at least studies upto grade seven and must not be less than 15 years of age. Fulfilment of these requirements, sources claimed, was enough to convince anyone that the applicant was not likely to pursue studies further.

Such students, officials said, would be provided with skilled training in separate trade schools where 80 percent of their curriculum will comprise vocational activities to be held outside class rooms.

They said that the idea of separate trade schools was conceived by the Government on the basis of the experience it had gained from the vocational schools under the New Education System Plan where vocational subjects were taught together with other regular programmes.

Since the academic programme dominated the vocational programme in the regular schooling system, the primary concern of the students became to pass the academic programme. The vocational aspect of the education was thus only in the backdrop of the schooling pattern.

Official sources said that the Government therefore began to think on the lines of detaching vocational subjects from the regular academic programme.

Six trade schools were opened--one each at Jumla, Jiri, Dhankuta, Lahan and Balaju and Sanothimi in the Kathmandu Valley--which seek to provide intensive training to students in various vocational subjects.

Since vocational training requires a trainee to be physically fit, stress has also been laid on the physical fitness of the candidates.

In rural areas the trade schools will place emphasis on such vocations as agriculture, horticulture, livestock development, primary health care, construction of roads and culverts and others. Trade schools in the urban areas will provide training in builders' trade, plumbing, electrical mechanics and others.

The training course will be of four years out of which three years will be devoted to "institute bound" training. On-the-job training will be for a period of one year.

The Government proposes to open eight more trade schools in the near future.

As regards vocational subjects being taught in the existing vocational schools, officials said that 100 marks worth of such subjects will continue to be taught in the existing schools. But, they emphasised this was simply to impress upon the students that they should not hesitate to "make their hands dirty".

The Government has constituted a National Vocational and Technical Committee under the chairmanship of the Education Minister which will conduct skilled training programmes and coordinate activities of various organisations and agencies doing the job.

The committee has also been asked to submit to the government a national skill training policy.

A separate body has also been formed to evaluate the standard of skilled personnel who have a certain degree of skill but have not attended formal course in any institution.

The national skill testing authority, to be chaired by the member secretary of the National Education Committee, will also recommend to the Government for certification of such skilled but "non-formal" manpower.

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## PILOT PROJECT FOR TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT STARTS

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 6 Feb 84 p 1

[Text]

**A two year pilot project has been started under the joint co-operation of HMG an UN financing system for science and technology for development in Jumla, Gorkha and Jhapa districts of the Kingdom to improve the traditional village technology.**

The project has received 679 thousand dollars from the financing system which was established with the decision of the UN conference on science and technology development held at Vienna, Austria in 1979.

From the side of HMG a sum of one million and 751 thousand rupees has been set aside for the project.

The objective of the project is to develop and expand the appropriate technology in the rural areas by increasing local resources and manpower.

HMG has given the task of managing the project to the centre for applied science and technology under the Tribhuvan University.

Research has already been done by the project from mid-November 1983 at Barhakote/Bada and Mallavit village panchayats

of Jumla district on improvements in water mills, building storing room according to local needs, cellar storage for fruits, solar dryer for fruits, etc and also to bring about developments in the traditional plows and other agriculture tools.

An information section for rural technology has been established there to generate awareness among the rural people about applied technology.

The instructor of the technical school has been chosen as the coordinator for the project in Jumla district.

The project employs two persons who have passed from the technical school.

The Social Service Co-ordination Committee has provided cooperation to the project which started work in the Deurali village panchayat around a month

ago.

The project is also providing help to the rural technology development committee headed by the upa pradhan pancha of the village panchayat.

Activities such as construction of plate pump, improved storage well and water mills are also under way in the district.

Preliminary works concerning opening a rural technology information branch as well as survey on appropriate traditional technology too has been completed.

Likewise, construction of low lift pumps development of one-ox plough, improved stove, solar drying machine as well as solar stove and jute dryer have been completed at Garamani village panchayat of Jhapa district under the project launched about six months ago.

Preliminary works con-

cerning construction of diapharam pumps and wind mill are being carried out in the area.

Manufacturing improved agriculture equipment as well as opening technical information branch at four primary and two lower secondary schools of the Garmani village panchayat have been completed.

Works under the project are being carried out in Jhapa district with assistance of local panchayat training centre.

Executive director of the centre for applied science and technology, Dr. Kedarlal Shrestha said the projects will be launched in one village panchayat each of Doti and Sindhu-palchowk district in the near future.

CSO: 4600/399



# PRODUCING MEDICAL GRADUATES CALLED A 'BIG STEP FORWARD'

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 17 Feb 84 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] The prospect of MBBS graduates being produced in the country itself is no longer confined to mere ideas and paper-plans, with the first batch of such graduates expected to serve the nation as full-fledged medical doctors by next year. A total of twenty-two MBBS students are scheduled to appear in their exams next month under the Institute of Medicine and, on their successful completion of the exams, they will serve a one-year internship as medicos at different hospitals of the Kingdom before they are recognised as full-fledged doctors. This does, indeed, indicate to a certain extent the stage of development the nation is at and the degree of success it has achieved over the years, particularly after the introduction of the National Education System.

While there have been certain shortcomings in the implementation of the National Education System, stories such as those related to MBBS students, marked spurt in the overall national literacy rate and increased numbers of educational institutions under various faculties speak volumes for its plus points as well. At a time when the nation, as a member of the World Health Organisation, is striving to attain the objective of "Health for All by the Year 2000", the piece of news noting the progress of the first batch of MBBS students being produced in the country inspires confidence in this respect. Though the number of doctors may not seem very high at a score or so, it cannot be dismissed as dismal in a country where the lack of adequate numbers of medical doctors has been a major problem in reaching health services to the majority of the people. Moreover, there are enough prospects for the Institute of Medicine to expand its physical facilities considering that its second phase work is nearing completion.

Stress should, therefore, be on expanding the number of MBBS graduates in the succeeding years on a continual basis to contribute to an even greater extent to meeting the shortage of medical doctors in the country while, at the same time, maintaining the quality of the education imparted and the performance of the products--factors so essential for instilling a popular sense of public confidence in the MBBS graduates of the only medical institute of the country.

## MOUNTAINEERING: ENVIRONMENTAL COST CRITICIZED

Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 14 Feb 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Mountaineering: Pros and Cons"]

[Text] The ritual announcement by the Ministry of Tourism of the "spring list" of mountaineering expeditions has become something of a tradition heralding the new climbing year in the Nepal Himalaya. This year's figures with 42 expeditions on 34 peaks of the Himalaya show that climbing in the mountains of Nepal is as popular as ever, and contrary to the predictions of tourism soothsayers, the anticipated flagging off of interest has not materialised. Nor is there any indication of this happening in the near future. The mighty peaks of the Himalaya, fourteen of some of the highest in the world, are still a big draw attracting thousands of climbers from all over the world every year. Spring is also the traditional season for climbing and still the most popular, although winter expeditions are also gaining ground.

The benefits to Nepal from the mountaineering industry, as it has indeed become, is manifold. Foremost are, of course, the immeasurable amount of publicity generated that is still generated by high adventure in the Himalaya. Expeditions, and especially national ones that are climbing either Sagarmatha or some other major eight thousander, come with a media crew that covers not only the climb but also the march in and Kathmandu in great detail. An example of this is the Canadian Sagarmatha expedition of two years ago which, some observers had noted, was more of a media than a climbing feat. Besides this is the documented cash benefits of the climbing industry which pumped one million rupees worth of foreign currency into the national exchequer in the Spring and Autumn seasons of 1983 alone. This figure, however, only includes the royalty paid by expeditions for peaks, and computing the overall expenditures by expeditions inside Nepal, the figure is a whopping Rs 17 million worth of hard currency. Although this alone is a valuable fillip to the economy, the climbing industry also generates employment in the villages and spreads the money into the village economy. During the Spring and Autumn of last year, for example, 6000 hill porters and 400 high altitude porters, gained seasonal employment with expeditions. This year's total of expeditions may even surpass last year's high of altogether eighty expeditions in Spring and Autumn, 1983 alone.

While all this is heartening, there has been growing concern even in climbing circles lately of the pollution of the Himalaya. This is of two kinds. One is what Sir Edmund Hillary last year described Sagarmatha as being "full of junk from top to the bottom". This situation can be remedied by enforcing stricter litter-control along mountaineering routes and at Base Camps. But the more sinister aspect of the climbing boom is the devastation caused by hordes of climbers and their accompanying armies of porters moving through ecologically fragile mountain valleys like locusts. Although the true impact of the transit of several annual expeditions to the most popular mountains through denuded trails must still be gauged, several alpine habitat and mountain slopes above the tree-line have already been affected by indiscriminate plundering to meet the energy requirements of base camp kitchens. The enforcement of existing regulations that make it mandatory for expeditions to burn their own kerosene in the worst affected areas is urgent. We might be earning mountaineering millions at the expense of irreplaceable loss to the environmental balance of the mountains.

CSO: 4600/399

NEPAL

BRIEFS

KHATRI ASSIGNED ADDITIONAL PORTFOLIO--Foreign Minister Padma Bahadur Khatri will look after the portfolio of the Law and Justice Ministry following the death of Law and Justice Minister Bakhan Singh Burung. This is stated in a notice published here Friday by the Principa Press Secretariat of His Majesty the King. [Text] [Kathmandu THE RISING NEPAL in English 11 Feb 84 p 6]

CSO: 4600/399

FORMER PPP LEADER INTERVIEWED, URGES MERITS OF FEDERATION

Lahore CHATAN in Urdu 26 Dec 83 pp 7-16

[Interview with Mohammad Haneef Ramay, former leader and chairman of the defunct Musawat Party, by Tahir Maqsood Butt: "Mr Butto Destroyed the Very Constitution He Created"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The number of fortunate people in the defunct PPP [People's Party] is limited. The people who held important government posts during the ascending period of the party had abundant power and authority, and long before it lost power, they left it because of some differences, saying: "The planets appear quite different from a distance, but they only deceive."

One such fortunate person is Mohammad Haneef Ramay, who took full advantage of his position during the ascension of the PPP and while still a member of the party had the courage to clash with his adversaries in the party. To take advantage of one's position, one has to be an opportunist, but to retaliate against adversaries in their own territory requires courage and boldness. We are astonished that despite his outstanding courage, he was neither sent to the Dulai camp nor was he made the target of a bullet while taking a stroll on the road. It is because of his good fortune that he is presently among us and in reply to our questions links the past with the present.

Chatan: What is the present position of the defunct PPP?

Haneef Ramay: Presently, all political parties, including the PPP, have been banned. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the PPP is a big party and the great majority of the poor people still consider it to be their friend, and as such it cannot be ignored in the country's domestic politics. It is also a fact that the PPP was controlled by landlords and still is, altogether these landlords do not sympathize with the PPP, and time will prove it. All they want are the votes of the poor people and even today their position remains unchanged.

Chatan: The 1970 and 1977 elections brought forward two different aspects of people's social thinking. In the 1970 elections, people on both sides in Pakistan voted for the socialist elements in large numbers, whereas in the 1977 elections they were persecuted for voting for candidates favoring Islamic teachings. What will be your future line of action in the light of these two different experiences?

Haneef Ramay: As far as I know, the defunct PPP offered a new form of socialism called Islamic socialism and at times referred to as a form of Islamic Musawat, i.e., equality. There are two different kinds of socialism, one democratic socialism and the other radical socialism. As a PPP representative in the field of journalism, I can say unequivocally that the socialism introduced by it was not against Islam. As a matter of basic principle, Islam was at the top of the PPP agenda, and it is wrong to say that it was purely a socialist movement. Islamic principles were the subject of discussion even at that time. The only difference was that the religious people kept Islamic teachings limited to basic religious convictions and worship whereas we in the PPP were in favor of extending Islamic teachings to social justice as well as society, the economy and other walks of life. Even today I believe that socialism should not be cut off entirely from religion. The socialism that we want should be based on equality the same as that advocated by Islam in political, economic and social fields. We want an Islam that is progressive and revolutionary, not the [moribund] 'mullaism', but the one that guides us towards the future instead of the past, the one that takes a lesson from the past but does not limit itself to the past.

Chatan: What do you think about government measures in this respect?

Haneef Ramay: How effective the government measures are can be seen from daily news reports. If despite these measures there is no change in the political, economic and social conditions, then there is no room for any further optimism. As far as popularizing religious convictions and Islamic teachings is concerned, there is no question of rejecting efforts directed toward this goal. I would also like to make it clear that if along with efforts to prove that the measures are lawful, one wished to remain in power forever, then nothing could be more ridiculous. Our government should know that the vast majority of people in Pakistan is Muslim. Thus, any government that comes into power in Pakistan with the help of their votes will not dare to take measures that oppose Islamic teachings.

Chatan: To what extent is the PPP involved in the East Pakistan tragedy?

Haneef Ramay: I do not believe that the PPP is in any way responsible for East Pakistan. But in the beginning, when there was still time, the PPP and its leaders gave no attention to this problem. You remember that when the Tashkent declaration was announced in June 1966 a lot of blood was shed in the streets of Lahore and the government, knowing that the people would react very strongly toward the Tashkent declaration, opened discussion on the 6-point demands of Mujibur Rahman in order to focus the attention of the people in another direction. This problem needed serious consideration by the government. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman announced his 6-point plan here in Gulberg in the residence of Chaudhari Mohammad Ali. This happened I believe in February or March of 1966. The government and the political parties, including the PPP, did not consider this problem worthy of their attention during a lengthy period starting in 1966 until the elections in 1977. Discussions held here with me revolved around subjects like Islam versus socialism, rich versus poor, bread, clothing and living quarters and a 1,000-year war with India. These were all no doubt very important subjects and constituted the main topics on which

elections were held, but despite all this, the country was split in two because no one gave any serious consideration to the basic problem of keeping East and West Pakistan united. This is why elections, instead of bringing about closeness and unanimity, brought about remoteness and separation.

Chatan: Do you still believe that without solving the problem of provincial autonomy the elections, instead of being fruitful, may prove to be dangerous to the country?

Haneef Ramay: I favor elections and hope that elections will be held as soon as possible. But you know that in order to hold elections, preparations have to be made on a wide scale, and this in turn requires time. Government and the politicians need much more time to talk about when and how elections should be held. I think that as long as this issue is not settled, the necessary steps to remove this hatred should be taken. Even if 2 days remained before elections, this hatred should not be allowed to continue even for a single day. If elections are held in an atmosphere of hatred, if clothes soaked in blood are used as flags, then perhaps the elections will not be able to solve the problems facing the country. If hatred becomes the slogan for elections then the elections, instead of bringing about unity in the country, will prove to be the cause of separation.

Chatan: In other words, you give priority to this problem over elections.

Haneef Ramay: I gave precedence to this problem over every other issue because I believe that it is of utmost importance that the federation should survive.

Chatan: Is it true that you started the movement for provincial autonomy from the Punjab as a way of creating an individuality for yourself in politics?

Haneef Ramay: I did not just start talking about provincial autonomy. I have been talking about this issue from the day I joined the PPP as a political party having an important status and possessing considerable power and authority. I have repeatedly said that I shall willingly follow any person who does a better job in this field. I have not taken up this issue for any personal benefit; I look upon it as an historical duty. I have seen Pakistan break up. I could not do anything to save the country then, even though I discussed this matter with Mr Bhutto on many occasions. At that time, I was not in a position to prevail upon him.

Chatan: Don't you fear being branded as a separatist along with other people clamoring for provincial autonomy?

Haneef Ramay: Despite such a possibility, I take this risk because in the past whenever anyone talked about provincial autonomy he was declared an enemy of the state and this led to the separation of East Pakistan. If Pakistan is to survive as a federation, then in light of past bitter experience I think that whoever talks and hears about provincial autonomy is a true and loyal friend of Pakistan.

Chatan: You said yourself that the people of Punjab were appointed to positions of influence and power in smaller provinces. This explains how the rights and privileges of small provinces are violated, but that Punjab itself is being deprived of its rights and privileges sounds incredible.

Haneef Ramay: The bureaucracy in Punjab, though representing itself in the smaller provinces, has no right to deprive them of their rights and privileges. What really deserves our attention is what this bureaucracy is doing for the people of the Punjab. As far as the people of Punjab are concerned, the appointment of a few chaudharies to influential positions does not benefit them at all. What is really important is what concerns the 40 million people living in Punjab. What a handful of Punjabis are doing in other provinces--for example, some Punjabis are engaged in looting in Sind, some are engaged in exploitation of Baluchistan and others are causing agony in the Frontier Province--is of no consequence to the people in Punjab. The people of the Punjab are busy doing their own work. What is really important is that the bureaucracy and the army remain within their limits. This is possible only if Punjab faithfully plays its political role. Punjab has always followed, it has never been in the forefront politically, Punjabis are misconceived as being rulers of the country, but until Zia's arrival, no prime minister from Punjab was ever able to remain in power for more than 22 months, 12 months for Chaudhari Mohammad Ali and 10 months in the case of Feroze Khan Noon. Punjab has been defamed because it has been very active in the bureaucracy and in the army.

Chatan: You talked about some problems facing Punjab. What are they?

Haneef Ramay: I believe that the problems Punjab is facing are the same as those of other provinces. The only difference being that the people of other provinces complain about their grievances whereas we in the Punjab who lack political awareness have been for some time oblivious of this role. When Pakistan was divided we came to our senses and realized that this incident could have been avoided if East Pakistan had not been deprived of its rights and privileges and if lawful demands had been recognized. Therefore, it was considered necessary that when the 1973 constitution was prepared, provincial autonomy should be included, due to the lack of which we had to face the East Pakistan tragedy. I remember that when the constitution was endorsed, Nurul Amin, who was alive at the time, burst into tears in the National Assembly, saying that had the constitution been passed 2 years earlier, East Pakistan would not have been lost. He said that the constitution contained all the rights and privileges and that had it been enforced, the people of East Pakistan would not have needed the 6-point plan. Under this constitution, a senate was formed in which all of the provinces were given equal representation irrespective of their population, the simple reason being to form an institution representing all of the provinces no matter how big or small they might be and to give them equal opportunity to make their points with all of the force at their command. This constitution, too, was misused and the provincial governments formed by other parties were dismissed and members of the National Assembly were literally thrown out. The Senate did not get the opportunity to perform the duty nominally assigned to it.



When I became a senator, I saw for myself that Pakistan, which can function properly only as a federation, was made to run as one unit. I thought it my duty to raise my voice against it; no such voice had been raised before in this province, which accounts for a majority in the bureaucracy and the army. I did everything I could to see that Punjab could perform its political duty, and in pursuance of these efforts I suffered detention in Shahi Fort and went to prison.

Chatan: To what extent will West Punjab be affected by the movement of the Sikhs in East Punjab?

Haneef Ramay: The best thing for us would be to look upon the Sikh movement as an internal affair of the Indian Government and not indulge in over-optimism about Sikhs, specially when Pakistan itself faces a critical situation in its relations with its provinces. We should never think of Sikhs as our friends. God forbid if other provinces do not remain with us; in that case, Punjab will be at the mercy of the Sikhs. Punjab is a province dependent for its water and electricity on dams located in other provinces. Similarly its gas also comes from other provinces and its industrial requirements are provided by the Karachi seaport. When there is no fuel left for the stoves in Punjab, no factories in operation and no wheat in the farms, at that point if these Sikhs, whom we consider our friends and who are being encouraged by some of our simpleminded leaders, turn against us, then Sikh rule will revive here once again.

Chatan: What are your views regarding the deplorable situation resulting in Sind in the name of democracy?

Haneef Ramay: Even those who are staunch supporters of the restoration of democracy did not have the slightest idea that such turmoil would explode in Sind or that it would be all their doing. Sind, taking advantage of this movement, used it to give vent to its feeling of deprivation and discontent. If the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy] or any other organization believes that the situation in Sind was the result of their activities, they should erase this misconception from their minds. The government, too, believes that the politicians were responsible, but it should not be hard on them. This was actually a result of the feelings of deprivation of the people of Sind. This is why I always say that Pakistan can only survive as a federation and such a federation can only be administered by an institution having representatives of all four provinces.

Chatan: Isn't the restoration of municipal institutions a positive step of the present government in moving toward the restoration of democracy?

Haneef Ramay: A friend of mine recently asked me a very interesting question relating to this subject. He said, you raised slogans for "Lok Raj" people's government, and the government by restoring municipal institutions did part of your work. I replied that slogans for people's government were not restricted to streets, districts and cities. There should be people's government in provinces and countries as well.

Chatan: If the president invites you to meet with him as part of a series of talks he is holding with political leaders, what will be your reaction?

Haneef Ramay: If we have to break the political deadlock without breaking the country, then each of us will have to be ready for talks with anyone. This is why I insist on understanding and am holding talks with political parties considered to be my adversaries. If I receive any such invitation from the government, I will welcome it as well.

Chatan: What are the activities of political leaders living abroad?

Haneef Ramay: I did not meet with many politicians during my stay abroad. But I must say that if you do not allow people to talk inside the country then you won't be able to stop them from talking when they are abroad. During a visit to a foreign country, someone asked Churchill to comment on the conditions prevailing inside his country. He replied that he preferred to comment on the domestic situation only when he was in the country. If everyone were to exhibit such exemplary democratic values, then such situations would not occur and everyone would be talking just like Churchill.

9315

CSO: 4656/68

2,500 REFUGEES SAID TO ENTER PAKISTAN EVERY MONTH

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 20 Feb 84 p 8

[Text] Peshawar, Feb 19: About 2,500 Afghan people are crossing over to Pakistan for refugee every month in the wake of foreign military intervention in Afghanistan, Rustam Shah Mohmand, Provincial Commissioner for Afghan Refugees said here today.

At a news conference, held on the even of completion of five years of the commissioner's existence Mohamand stated that the refugee influx registered rise, whenever military activity of the occupation forces was stepped up in Afghanistan. In this context, he revealed that about 30,000 Afghan people took shelter in Kurram Agency during the months of August and September last, in view of the military activity in Khost province of Afghanistan.

He repudiated the Kabul rulers claim that Pakistan authorities were not allowing the Afghan refugees to return to Afghanistan, and said that the people and government of Pakistan had neither invited them nor were stopping them to go back, but, he asserted that the Afghan refugees were determined to return to their homeland when the foreign troops would withdraw from there.

Mohmand told another questioner that no refugee had returned to Afghanistan. Certain criminals had apparently migrated to Afghanistan, only to save themselves from the wreath of the law for their crimes, he said.

He categorically stated that Pakistani laws were equally applicable to the Afghan refugees, as to the people of Pakistan.

Stating that the number of Afghan refugees in NWFP alone had risen to 2.7 million. The Commissioner reviewed the relief operations, under taken with the assistance of the UNHCR, WFP and other international humanitarian agencies.

He stated that the UNHCR contributed Rs. 57 crore worth of humanitarian assistance during the 1983 calender year, while WFP's total commodity assistance valued at about Rs. 100 crore. On an average, he said, the UNHCR provided aid worth Rs. 50 crore every year.--APP.

CSO: 4600/395

ADVISOR TO PRESIDENT TALKS ABOUT POPULATION PLANS

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 20 Feb 84 p 4

[Text]

LARKANA, Feb 19: The Government is spending a sum of Rs 2.3 crores on Population Planning Welfare Programme in the 6-th Five-Year Plan to provide basic health and mother-child cre amenities aiming to cope with the everincreasing morbidity and mortality rate in the country.

Disclosing this, Dr Attiya Inayatullah, Advisor to the President on Health and Population Planning, while inaugurating on Saturday the Reproductive Health Service Centre at Shaikh Zaid Women Hospital, Larkana, said that such 15 centres were already operating in all teaching hospitals of the country.

This centre was set up at cost of Rs 3 lakh with the collaboration of UNICEF, UNPF, WHO and World Bank. However, she made it very clear that 'our government had provided 66 per cent of the total expenditure of this satellite project'.

Dr Attiya said that the present government, due to Islamic spirit, was keen to extend full rights to the women and the same is reflected from the fact that social sector has so far been allocated 30 per cent funds in 6-th Five-Year Plan against 5 per cent in past.

Narrating this, she said that this entire programme is being launched under primary health care especially in the rural areas, with the constitution of family

health groups that frequently pay visits alongwith field experts to calculate and train the rural population and make them realise the importance of primary health care, she added.

She further said that such centres have been equipped with modern and sophisticated instruments and ambulances supplied by UNICEF in each centre. —APP.

U. S. INVESTMENT STRONGLY URGED

Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 20 Feb 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Let Rockefeller Induce Americans to Invest in Pakistan"]

[Text]

Comparatively speaking, the investment climate in Pakistan has definitely undergone a change for the better during the last five or six years. Acknowledging this fact, the Chairman of the International Advisory Committee of Chase Manhattan Bank, David Rockefeller has expressed the hope that the measures taken by the Government in the recent past would attract American investors who had turned their back following the nationalisation of banks and certain industries in the country. The policy in the past had definitely scared the investors while domestic investors had switched over from industry to commerce, foreign investors had almost totally

withdrawn themselves and did not make any worthwhile investment in Pakistan for about a decade. It was, indeed, a situation which caused concern and had to be rectified. The present regime introduced some policy changes which the foreign investors particularly welcomed. Some of them hurried to invest in Pakistan in collaboration with Pakistani counterparts. By now several projects set up with the joint efforts of Pakistani and foreign investors, have actually gone into operation. Entrepreneurs from more countries are coming and assessing the situation and indentifying the areas where they can invest. But as far as the American entrepreneurs are concerned, we regret to say that they have

not been able to make up their minds so far though a number of delegations have paid visits to this country.

After a lapse of quite some time, it was in November 1981 that an investors delegation from the United States came to Pakistan. After having detailed discussions with their Pakistani counterparts and high ranking Government officials, they indicated their intention to invest in projects like sheep breeding, poultry farming, or fishing industries! They also wanted to set up banks and life insurance companies. This came as a great disappointment for the people in general and the entrepreneurs in particular in this country. The fields the

Americans wanted to enter were not actually those in which Pakistan needed assistance from a country like the United States. Besides, investment in spheres like life insurance called for changes in the law of the land. As such, these proposals were rightly taken as an indication of the American investor's hesitation to invest in Pakistan. The people of this country would have felt less disappointed if these investors had gone back without making any investment proposals at all. The way they behaved was nothing short of arrogance, if they were not frivolous.

Indeed, investors are not philanthropists. They put in money with a view to earning more money. The incentives provided by this country for the attraction of foreign private capital have been quite attractive. Those who invested here did so as entrepreneurs. But the Americans thought that if they invested here it would be an act

of favour for Pakistan. Besides, they wanted to repatriate their investment with profits without taking any risks and in the shortest possible time. This attitude was most unbusinesslike.

That we are in need of foreign investment is evident from the liberal concessions given to the foreign investors. But this investment we want in spheres involving sophisticated technology and in projects which are capital intensive. It is with this objective in view that the Government of Pakistan has gone to the extent of discriminating against its own nationals. Pakistanis are not allowed to invest in the banking field while the foreigners are permitted to undertake banking in the country. Beside the Chase Manhattan, a number of other foreign banks have been operating in Pakistan and making quite handsome profits. The American investors, it is a pity, are still insisting on things like the establishment of US-Pakistan Chamber of Commerce, which, too, has

now come into being. It is now time for them to come forward and make investment in ventures which can be of real use to this country. Would it be too much to expect of a person of Rockefeller's reputation to tell his compatriots to go to Pakistan and help it in setting up industries based on modern technology.